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I.—PROBLEMS IN GREEK SYNTAX.¹

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Some nine years ago I conceived the plan of collecting my own studies in Greek syntax, together with those that had been set on foot at my suggestion, and of publishing the whole under the title of 'Problems in Greek Syntax.' While I found little to retract, there was not a little to add by way of further illustration and

¹In an address delivered in December, 1899, on the 'Place of Philology,' President Wheeler of the University of California made public lamentation over 'the exaggerated attention paid to syntax in American class-rooms of Greek and Latin' as constituting 'the severest menace to the usefulness and therefore to the continuance of classical study'. This warning was duly echoed by the editor of the *Classical Review*, himself a grammarian; but as no names were mentioned and as, of late years, other American scholars have flooded the philological world, and, for aught I know, their class-rooms, with a fertilizing Nile of syntactical studies, I might have failed to take the lesson to myself. True, I have worked at syntax and if I have not 'turned up the field of Aphrodite or the Charites' with my grammatical ploughshare, as Pindar would say, I have, at least, like Tennyson's Northern Farmer (Old Style) 'stubb'd' or helped to stub 'Thurnaby waäste.' But in order that I might not comfort myself with the thought that I had done some decent work and that at any rate I was not the greatest sinner in the land, the editor of an English educational journal proceeded to point President Wheeler's moral and to reinforce Professor Postgate's comment by holding up Professor Gildersleeve as one who had exercised a deleterious influence on cis-Atlantic classical studies. What a sad return for the patience with which I have kept my arrows within my quiver for all these years! μή τις ἐτι πρόφρων ἀγανδς καὶ

explanation, and the volume would have bulked largely enough to arrest the attention of the scholarly world. For no *obiter dicta*, no pregnant aphorisms, will avail nowadays. If the chips are not sent in with the table, the table cannot be accepted as a specimen of joiner's work. To this collection I intended to prefix an introductory essay which should set forth my point of view and indicate some lines of research that could, in my judgment, be profitably pursued. In the preparation of this essay I made use of no works of reference, in the hope that I should thereby gain in readableness, a hope which proclaims me to be still in the bonds of literary iniquity.¹ No true grammarian has any right to be readable. Being called on unexpectedly to say something at the Chicago meeting of the American Philological Association, in 1893, I availed myself of the opportunity to air some of the notions embodied in the essay, so that a few of the phrases here used may be familiar to some of my readers and in the time that has elapsed some of the points made have been more fully developed, now in the Journal, now in special treatises by my students, and haply by others. On reviewing this performance I cannot help thinking that while it was well to abandon the projected volume of syntactical studies, the introductory matter

ἤπιος ἔστω. But the publication of this series of papers will show how little I am disturbed by these criticisms, which I mention by way of encouragement to my fellow-syntacticians and I resume my lucubrations in cheerful mood. *δοια ὁρῶν ἐνφρανε θυμὸν*, says Bakchylides. And should I ever need heartening, I will read and re-read what Weil, who is no syntactician à outrance, has written on the subject of Greek Syntax in the Journal des Savants for May, 1901. '<Le> don < de sentir et de faire sentir les nuances les plus délicates >, nécessaire à tout grammairien, l'est particulièrement à celui qui entreprend d' écrire une syntaxe grecque. Rien ne ressemble moins à un code : elle obéit, il est vrai, à des lois que l'on peut dégager, mais dès qu'on essaye de formuler ces lois, elle résiste, elle réclame sa liberté : cette liberté n'est cependant pas la licence ; si elle semble enfreindre la lettre de la loi, c'est pour mieux se conformer à son esprit. C'est que la langue grecque, produit naturel d'un peuple admirablement doué, n' a pas connu pendant des siècles le joug étroit des grammairiens de profession ; instrument d'une merveilleuse souplesse, elle s' accommoda au caractère des genres littéraires, au génie des poètes, des orateurs, des écrivains qui savaient en jouer, capable de rendre les plus fines nuances du sentiment et de la pensée. Mobile et variée à l'infini, tout en restant la même, cette langue fait, par son apparente indiscipline, le désespoir des grammairiens rigides et les délices des esprits qui savent la goûter.'

¹ The notes are all afterthoughts.

may not have lost all its interest. As editor of the American Journal of Philology I have imposed on myself a self-denying ordinance, and when after the first ten years, the supply of copy for the department of original communications became ample, I withdrew into the narrow confines of 'Brief Mention.' But in the volumes that are yet to be issued under my management I expect to try the patience of my subscribers more seriously than I have done heretofore, and with this number I make the beginning.

It is a droll fate that a man whose ambition for all his early years was to be a poet, or, failing that, to be a man of letters, should have his name, so far as he has a name at all, associated with that branch of linguistic study which is abhorrent to so many finely constituted souls. But when I renounced literature as a profession and betook myself to teaching, I found that there was no escape from grammar, if I was to be honest in my calling. Every teacher must spend much time in the study of grammar, if he is to do his duty, for no teacher finds any grammar satisfactory at all points. Each author has a grammar of his own, written or unwritten. Each student has a grammar of his own, has his ways of adjusting the phenomena to his range of vision or *vice versa*, less frequently *vice versa*. As soon as one begins to handle the language practically, to set exercises, to correct exercises, even in the elementary form of retroversion, problems are sure to arise. The rules will not work; the facts will not fit into the scheme; analysis will not yield synthesis; the prepositions and the cases are rebellious; and the moods and tenses will not reproduce themselves, when the test of retranslation is applied. It is in the very beginnings that the troubles show themselves. In Greek verse composition, in Latin verse composition, the problems are not so obtrusive. They are veiled in phraseology, and hence in the mosaic of Greek and Latin verses there are much fewer errors in grammar than might be expected from the very slender knowledge that the artists display when they come to write on grammatical subjects. One is reminded of the way in which Aristophanes mimics epic syntax. True, in almost all modern productions of this kind the eye of the student of historical syntax will detect absurd lapses, absurd anachronisms, absurd violations of sphere;¹ but if we are

¹ So in running my eye over a volume of Greek verses to which I owe some pleasant half-hours, I notice *elav* in Attic verse as a present; 2nd pers. pres.

to lay righteousness to the line and judgment to the plummet, there will be no enjoyment of any artificial poetry, there will be no pleasure in the study of the Alexandrians or in the contemplation of the Greek Anthology. There is such a thing as being too sensitive. One scholar tells us that Victor Hugo lost somewhat of his French touch by his residence in Jersey. Another that Lysias had lived too long in the West to be considered a safe guide in the matter of Atticism.¹ Let us not be too hard to please; let us not break the bruised 'Reeds of Cam' nor pluck to pieces the paper 'Garland of the Severn,' nor stop our ears to the 'Whispers of the Hesperides.' The advantage that comes to the individual from the close study of diction and versification is undeniable, and the cheap fun that has been made of Latin and Greek verse-wrights ought not to lead scholars who have not been brought up under English influences to sneer at exercises that have a positive value. What English scholar would be guilty of such quantities as German 'Gelehrte' inflict on a long-suffering public?² What sterner demand for practice in verse-making could be made than has been made of late by Wilamowitz—one of the most brilliant scholars of our day? No translator 'is he that cannot translate both ways.'³ But the advantage is an individual

subj. with neg. as an imperative, which, by the way, may be found in Hug's Symposium 179, B 5 (μή λέγῃς); the articular infinitive used with the same freedom as in prose; πρὶν with pres. inf. as a normal thing and as many δὲ ὁ δπως's as are to be found in the whole range of Greek literature.

¹ A. J. P. IV 88.

² 'Quanta tum forem felicitate beatus' is an hexameter pilloried in the Cl. R. 1892, p. 452, and the following note copied from the Nation of March 17, 1892, may be of interest. 'I had just re-read,' says "An Old Contributor," 'Ritschl's merciless review of Madvig's "Adversaria" in which the Danish scholar's false quantities are not spared (Opusc. iii. 164), when I opened a volume of "Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft Wilhelm von Christ zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargebracht" and began with the "Carmen Salutatorium" by J. Menrad, who is known as the author of a creditable piece of work on contraction and synizesis in Homer. Where his master, Christ, studied I do not know; but many a sexagenarian scholar of Ritschl would rather have died at fifty-nine than have lived on to be congratulated in a poem that begins with the portentous blunder *Iam lux ter vicies*. To be sure, *vicies* is no worse than Madvig's *nāasse* and *pāletur*, and Latin verses are an anachronism; but the anachronist should possess and use a *Gradus ad Parnassum* under penalty of having his verses considered *perparvi valoris*, as a German Latinist wrote the other day.'

³ A. J. P. XIII 517.

advantage and belongs to a range of studies that the world rightly or wrongly has agreed to discard. *Versus et cetera ludicra pono*. The teacher's main business is to account for the phenomena of the authors read in class; and composition is tolerated chiefly for the exactness it gives in the command of the facts.¹ It is just here, just in the daily explanation of the texts, just in the correction of exercises that almost every thoughtful teacher finds difficulties more or less abundant, according to his vision, according to his temperament. And my first studies in Greek syntax were of this practical kind. Many of the formulae reached during twenty years of teaching were deposited in the notes of my edition of Justin Martyr, which I have elsewhere compared to a hunter's *cache*, and much that I have written since is little more than a justification of rules and principles established or verified in the course of my class-work. Established or verified, I say. To the eye of the specialist the novelties are few indeed; and what I have fancied was my own may have been nothing but reminiscence. Questions of originality and priority concern me little. He would be a poor teacher who should not hit upon a happy phrase, an apt formula now and then. What I am desirous of setting forth is the point of view, which, apart from the moral obligations of the teacher, has given grammatical research so large a place in my professional life. But of this point of view, this creed, this ideal, I have written at some length in my essay on 'Grammar and Aesthetics'; and I will not repeat what I have set down there. Suffice it to say, the study of Greek syntax would always have imposed itself on me as a duty, but take away its spiritual, its artistic content, and it would cease to be for me the meadow of asphodel it has been for years. It would lack the purple glow that lights up the arid plain of grammar until it becomes the Elysian fields of art. It is the moral, the aesthetic side of the study that has interested me from the beginning, and it is the glimpses of the moral and the aesthetic side that have made me less forlorn. The man in Bunyan was so busy with his muck rake that he did not see the crown of glory that was over his head. The muck rake is sometimes the only instrument by which the crown of glory can be reached.

Fortunately for the student of the historical syntax of Greek that wishes to redeem his department from the charge of that

¹See an article entitled: *Quelques mots sur l'histoire du thème grec*, *Revue Universitaire*, 15 mars, 1893, p. 281.

statistical dulness into which we have been drifting of late, aesthetic syntax is an organic part of his work, an inevitable part of his work. For history we must have chronology and the various departments of Greek literature develop themselves chronologically, so that one important factor in the account is secure. But in the history of literature, chronology is not everything. The sphere must be considered, and the more one studies, the more one becomes convinced of the importance of the literary range. Each department of literature has a history of its own; each author has a stylistic syntax of his own; and these are the problems that have always interested me most, that have made of a passionate lover of literature a dispassionate dissector of language. But the anatomist and the physiologist have their loves despite scalpel and microscope, and I trust that the grammarian has not wholly killed the literary man in me. Indeed so far from that, it is the literary man in me that seeks the aid of the grammarian at every turn. Grammatical figure cannot be divorced from rhetorical figure. Music is older than rhetoric, rhetoric is older than grammar. What were the men who used the language doing in the long ages before writing checked growth? All through those aeons artistic work was going forward, and not all unconsciously. From the grammatical side euphony is movement in the line of least resistance. From the artistic side it is delight in the play of sound; and the artistic definition has imposed itself on grammar. What is analogy from the linguistic side, is love of symmetry from the artistic side. Language as art, is the art of arts, and outdoes in its perfection painting and sculpture, but art works under law and it is largely the function of grammar to determine the law. We cannot escape grammar when we study style; and he did good service who entitled his book a 'Grammar of Ornament.' We cannot escape grammar when we study style. We cannot escape style when we study grammar. Bald truism, perhaps. But unless I am mistaken few appreciate how close the connexion is, how often the interpretation of a point of grammar turns upon the knowledge of an author's style. Perhaps I may be pardoned for giving one or two familiar illustrations from elementary grammar.

THE SENTENCE.

Syntax begins with the sentence—*si dis placet*. Of course, in genetic syntax one does not deal with such old-fashioned things

as 'sentence,' 'subject' and 'predicate.' Genetic syntax has to do with 'current' and 'poles,' but for the outer world it may be safe to say that syntax begins with the sentence. To be sure, the most simple form of the sentence, the finite verb with its implied subject, does not admit of syntax. As soon, however, as the subject is expressed, the problem begins. εἶπον. Well and good. But are we to say ἐγὼ εἶπον or εἶπον ἐγώ? And lo! we encounter at once the question of hiatus, we encounter the question of position, we encounter the question of expressing the subject at all, every one a stylistic problem.¹

Our grammars tell us that the subject need not be expressed, nay, is not expressed unless it is emphatic; but it is expressed, needlessly expressed, expressed where we can feel no special emphasis. The verbs of these subjects have a certain range; they are very often verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, and with these verbs the first person is very often expressed where we do not feel the need. This assertion of personality in ἐγώ, in ἐγώμαι, is a clue to the tone. The same phenomenon is set down as vulgar in Latin. It is to a certain extent vulgar in Greek, and we are not surprised that the vulgarian Aischines is given to an undue use of the personal pronoun outside of the consecrated range. Is it not 'better form' in our own world to suppress 'I' in favor of the colorless 'one,' in favor of the impersonal passive?

One of the first sections in syntax is the use of the copula. Of course, we are promptly told that the copula is often dispensed with, as in μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ and all the other wise saws that we quote, but do not practise. Strictly speaking, we might turn the statement round. The verb which serves as a flux—εἰμί—was originally something more than a flux, shows itself, if half a chance be given it, much more than a flux. Two words put side by side will work out the problem of predicate and subject. The old will be the subject, the new will be the predicate, or they will be subject and predicate in turn. We cannot help asking the stylistic meaning of this so-called omission of the copula. Being primal, it belongs to elevated language. Pindar scarcely ever uses the copula, the flux. Being primitive, it is found in proverbial language and proverbial language belongs to the speech of the people. Extremes meet in syntax as in vocabu-

¹ See Ritter, Untersuchungen über Plato, p. 90. Cf. A. J. P. VI 489 and X 439 (Hussey).

lary. Our poetical words are often vulgar. Our vulgar words are often poetical. One would like to know more about the omission of the copula than is taught in school grammars.¹ Go a step farther in the same direction. When two substantives are put side by side, one may serve as predicate to the other. Which is which, is extra-linguistic. In Latin juxtaposition must be made to yield the result. There are certain conventionalities, as they are called, in position, *mons summus, summus mons*. In Greek the development of the article serves to distinguish subject from predicate. All this comes naturally from the demonstrative force of the article. The article gives the old notion (*schon da gewesen*), the anarthrous the new. But see how stylistic considerations come into the naïveté of language. At a late period the prefixing of the article here and the omission of it there, were looked upon as a contrivance for avoiding ambiguity, just as in still later times the prefixing of the article was looked upon as a means of indicating gender, τὸ ἄρθρον being practically τὰ ἄρθρα.² Outside of such combinations as οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος, with the article, in which we have the old appositive use, the predicative position of the article, as it is called, involves a certain amount of analysis and it is not impossible that in οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ a later time may have felt οὗτος as the predicate. Another such gnomon of style was recognized by the Greeks themselves in the different attributive positions of the article, adjective and substantive. ὁ ἐμὸς υἱός was to them an illustration of συντομία, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς of ὅγκος, and the swell of the latter form was sought after by some of the orators. The third position υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς depends for its interpretation on the grammatical stage of the language. When the article is still largely implicit, when υἱός is ὁ υἱός then υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς = ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς. When it is explicit, then υἱὸς ὁ ἐμὸς has a decidedly naïve effect, the after-thought ὁ ἐμὸς is a *grata negligentia*, a slipshod-diness of the Greeks, and we are not surprised to find it so often

¹ See now Bishop on the omission of the copula with -τέον, A. J. P. XX 248, and Delbrück, Vergl. S. III 121. Worse than useless is such a note as Campbell's on Plato, Theaet. 143 E: 'The adjective receives greater emphasis by the omission of the substantive verb.' It is an explanation that fails to explain.

² Theon προλεγμ. II 83 Sp.: προσθέσει ἄρθρων οὐκ ἐτι ἀμφίβολος γίνεται ἡ λέξις. In old-fashioned grammars of Latin *hic, haec, hoc* served as substitutes for ὁ, ἡ, τό. Every one will remember the Latin lesson in the Merry Wives of Windsor: 'Articles are borrowed of the pronoun and be thus declined, *singulariter, nominativo, hic, haec, hoc.*'

in Herodotos.¹ But this is only one of the manifestations of the article that cannot be studied grammatically without being studied stylistically. Beginning as a demonstrative pronoun, the article never loses its demonstrative force, but its sphere and its range are different at different times and in different authors. The Homeric use is an adumbration of what it is to be, but the epic use is not the lyric use, the lyric use is not the dramatic use. Compare the chorus of the drama with the dialogue. Compare comic poetry with tragic. The article with proper names has in it a history of styles from the universal omission in the epic to the universal employment in the late Homeric paraphrast.² The orators are bound as the historians are not, and among themselves the orators, vary according to their regard for the conventionalities. But I must not let my illustrations outgrow my thesis, which after all no one will think it worth while to controvert. Every Greek syntax is more or less a *syntaxis ornata*, and if I shall be able to extend the domain of this *syntaxis ornata*, I shall be more than satisfied.

The facts are doubtless more or less familiar and my only hope is that the grouping of the facts and the presentation of the facts may be of service to those who have not made a special study of the relations of grammar and style. Nor need there be any dread lest the necessary analysis destroy the feeling for language. Feeling for language is not destroyed by multiplied observations of this sort. Nay, it is but heightened. The reasoned observation passes over into the unreasoned perception. The mere literary student of style may be able to pronounce with Cicero's man that this verse is by Plautus, this not³, but the scientific student of literature has other and more certain tests. After a while the application of these tests becomes so instinctive that the process is not felt, and when the rhetorician tells the grammarian that this piece of Lysias and that piece of Demosthenes are indistinguishable,⁴ the grammarian feels an array of differences as immediately as if he had not learned those differences by analysis.

¹ See Aristotle's Rhetoric III c. 2, and my comments on his example τῆς ἡμετέρας γυναικός A. J. P. XX 459, which must not be taken too seriously. To the examples of *pluralis maiestatis* there given, add Eur. El. 34: ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ δίδωσιν Ἡλέκτραν ἔχειν | δάμαρτα. On the slipshod position see Justin Martyr Apol. I, 6, 7; A. J. P. VI 262 where I correct my statement as to Lucian, and XVII, 126, 518; and Milden's dissertation on the Limits of the Predicative Position in Greek, p. 10.

² A. J. P. XI 483.

³ Cic. Fam. IX 16, 4.

⁴ Dion. Hal., Dem. 992 R.

PARTS OF SPEECH.

There is a queer little book by Spangenberg (A. J. P. VIII 255), if indeed it be by Spangenberg,¹ in which the Nouns under their king *Poeta* make war on the Verbs under their King *Amo*. Spangenberg's—or rather Guarna's—jest becomes earnest with us and we also have to recognize a certain rivalry between the two in the matter of aesthetic syntax. Hermogenes, a famous rhetorician, gives us to understand that the use of the noun gives a certain dignity to style² and a practical illustration of this even in English is furnished by a comparison of the style of Johnson, and the style of Addison as was pointed out long ago. See my *Essays and Studies* p. 155. Whence this dignity? The meaning of the noun is more implicit than that of the verb. The noun wraps itself up, as it were, in its mantle with an air of reserve and whereas the finite verb reveals its voice, its mood, its tense, its person, the abstract noun lets you divine all this. Noun and verb are twins, but not more unlike were Esau and Jacob, Esau, the outspoken and Jacob, the supplanter. Each of these twins has its advantages, the noun in compactness, the verb in directness. But the lively Greek is not content with one advantage at a time—ἀ ὅς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν—and impatient of reserve introduces the articular infinitive to do the office of both noun and verb. Introduces it, for the articular infinitive seems to have belonged originally to the realm of vulgar speech, to the realm of eating and drinking—τὸ φαγεῖν, τὸ πιεῖν. It is not allowed to figure in the aristocratic epic, for in nothing does Parmenides show more plainly his indifference to style than in the use of the articular infinitive in the hexameter. It appears, though rarely, in the lyric, which will not be bound by conventionalities. Fiery Alkaios will cry out:

τὸ γὰρ

Ἄρει κατάνην κύλον

and lofty Pindar will deign to say:

τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον αἰέθλων.

¹ See Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* Bd. 154 (1896), p. 443, and a long article by L. Fränkl in *Z. f. vergl. Littg.* XIII, 242, which goes to show that the author is Andreas Guarna Salernitanus. The book was published at Strassburg 1512.

² Classen, *Einleitung zu Thuk.* LXVI, A. J. P. VIII 333, XVI 525, XX, 111 and now my *Greek Syntax* §§ 61, 141.

But for all that, the articular infinitive is a tribune of the people, a representative of the wants and wishes of the mobile verb. To be sure, it may be said that the infinitive was an abstract noun, to begin with, but it had become the drudge in the family of the verbs and it had served as a substitute for every mood. The patrician Claudius had become the plebeian Clodius and at first τὸ θανεῖν could hardly have been more dignified than τὸ θρέττε. But the promotion of the infinitive and its free association with abstract nouns on a footing of equality gave it something of the σεμνότης of its companions and yet the σεμνότης is a false σεμνότης and there is an ἀπειροκαλία about it at times that reminds one of the market-place. The free use of the articular infinitive in narrative, the free use of the articular infinitive, where the regularly developed verbal noun will serve, are notes of a vulgar style, such as that of Polybios,¹ just as in English 'nonce-nouns' made of infinitives are all vulgar. 'It is my *shoot*', 'it is my *try*' are forcible enough and 'shoot' and 'try' have the same advantage over 'shot' and 'trial' that the articular infinitive has over the verbal noun, but I should think long before using in a serious composition Browning's 'He thinks many a long think'.

To the ancient grammarians the infinitive was not a distinct part of speech. τὸ ἀπαρέμφατον was only a manifestation of the verb, though they might have made it a part of speech with the same right as they made the participle, the μετοχή, a part of speech. Nor did the ancient rhetoricians have much to say about the stylistic effect of the infinitive. But in the participle they did recognize a potent element of style, as I have already set forth at length (A. J. P. IX 137), and well they might. The participle adds color and sweep to description. The color sometimes becomes confusing, the sweep sometimes becomes a tangle, but an ametoichic discourse would lack fluency, would lack light and shade. In Greek the participle is idiomatically used where few languages dare follow. So of two imperatives, one is subordinated and our English resents. There is a variant in Matt. 9, 6, that tells the story. ἔγειρε ἄρὸν σου τὴν κλίνην is the Semitic of ἐγερθεὶς ἄρον. It is ἔγειρε ἄρον in Mark 2, 11. In Luke 5, 24, however, it is ἔγειρε καὶ ἄρας τὸ κλινίδιον σου πορεύου. Nay, the subordination of the participle with the imperative is common enough in the N. T. The great command is: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε

¹ See Hewlett, A. J. P. XI 287.

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. But in the narrative even the Greek of the N. T. does not neglect the participle. It could not be Greek at all if it did, and so the Evangelist goes on to say ἐγερθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν where in English we say, 'He arose and departed.'

But the Greek participle did not achieve all its triumphs at once. It has a history. The logical elements which we dissect out of the participle when we call it causal, adversative, conditional, final, all these lay undifferentiated in its original plastic use. This original plastic use is felt throughout the language. This is the use that manifests itself after verbs of perception, for after verbs of actual perception, the participle must be used and no periphrasis will take its place (A. J. P. XIV 374). This is the use that manifests itself in those combinations in which we say that the participle is used *instead* of a substantive, such as αὐτὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόντι, where the translation by an abstract noun destroys the concreteness of the expression.¹ The participle, to begin with, is an adjective but it has more movement than an adjective. The temporal significance is a part of its being. If it loses that temporal significance it is degraded to an adjective, to a noun. If the adjective gains temporal significance it is elevated to the rank of a participle and may take the construction of a participle.² Now it is out of that temporal significance that the familiar categories of cause and condition arose; it is in this way that the participle came to be regarded as an abridged sentence, if one may use the somewhat dangerous phraseology of our grammars. But was there to the Greek himself any consciousness of the participial sentence as an abridged sentence? The Greek rhetoricians give us samples of shifting expression which show consciousness, but their evidence has to be taken with considerable caution and our best guide is the usage of the classic authors. When an author uses a conditional sentence in one member of an antithesis and a participle in the other we can hardly deny the full consciousness of a conditional participle.³ But the conditional participle as such could

¹ For English examples, see Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, p. 263, and cf. A. J. P. XIX 463, XX 353.

² Cf. Pind. O. 9, 2: φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία where one of Pindar's unfortunate commentators wishes to 'emend.' Comp. Ion fr. 1, 7 (Bgk.), where the same word is construed as a participle, παῖδες φωνήεντες, ὅταν πέσῃ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω, | πρὶν δὲ σιωπῶσιν.

³ E. g. Hdt. 1, 187: ἦν σπανίστη—μὴ σπανίστας.

not have come at once, because a conditional participle requires the negative $\mu\eta$ and the negative $\mu\eta$ with the participle is a comparatively late achievement.¹ As we can watch the timid introduction of $\alpha\upsilon$ with inf. to match $\alpha\upsilon$ with opt. in *oratio recta*,² so we can watch $\mu\eta$ stealing into the participial sentence. Once established there, $\mu\eta$ extends its empire as by divine right, and this 'generic' use of $\mu\eta$ of which so much is made in the grammars is nothing but a transfer from the conditional sentence as abridged in the participle. The conditional sentence itself goes back to the imperative, goes back to the optative meaning of $\mu\eta$, and it is no longer necessary to divide the body of $\mu\eta$ and to recognize in it two distinct uses, as is practically done by some, openly by others.³

When $\mu\eta$ is first used with the participle it is used only in consequence of the general requirements of the sentence. There is, strictly speaking, no $\mu\eta$ with the participle in Homer.⁴ When we find it again $\mu\eta$ with the participle distinctly echoes the $\mu\eta$ of an equivalent finite construction. And the articular participle with $\mu\eta$ is a condensed form of the conditional relative. The naïveté of the language is over in Pindar's $\delta\ \mu\eta\ \sigmaυνιείς$ (N. 4, 31) as it is over in Pindar's $\alpha\gammaνωμον\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\eta\ \piρομαθεῖν$ (O. 8, 61). The participle, then, expresses concretely relations that would be expressed logically by the finite verb; and the use of the finite verb for the participle or the participle for the finite verb produces a stylistic effect which the ancient rhetoricians recognized distinctly.⁵ But participle in Homer and participle in Isaïos are not the same thing. In Homer involution precedes evolution; in Isaïos evolution precedes involution. It is evening primrose against umbrella. In the one

¹ All these points have been worked out since the date of these remarks in two Johns Hopkins dissertations, Gallaway, On the use of $\mu\eta$ with the Participle, and Bolling, On the Participle in Hesiod.

² Il. 9, 684—Comp. v. 417.

³ Cook-Wilson says, 'whatever the common ultimate ancestry of the two meanings of $\mu\eta$, they are as distinct uses as if they were represented by different words.' See A. J. P. XII 520.

⁴ A. J. P. XVIII 244, 369. Remarkable is the steadiness of epic syntax even among imitators. See C. J. Goodwin on Apollonius Rhodius. As to the special instance Ap. Rh. 2, 209 $\text{οὐδέ τις ἐτλη} \mid \mu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\iota\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\lambda'\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon \mid \epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\omega\varsigma$, that is not a true example of $\mu\eta$ with the participle. It is an elliptical figure like $\mu\eta\ \delta\tau\iota$, but that also is alien from epic poetry. But see now G. M. Bolling, The Participle in Apollonius Rhodius (Studies in Honor of B. L. G., p. 462).

⁵ Dion. Hal., Iud. de Isaëo, 598 R.; Pindar I. E. cix; A. J. P. IX 142.

case the bud has not opened. In the other the umbrella has been folded. As a verb, the participle encroaches on the verb; as an adjective, it encroaches on the adverb. Here again we have concreteness instead of analysis. Conspicuous is the well-known coincidental use of the participle in that construction in which finite verb and participle are reversible, such as the early use of *φθάνω* and *λανθάνω*, as the later use of *τυγχάνω*.¹ For *λανθάνω* the Greek can use *λάβρα*, for *τυγχάνω* he can use *τύχη*, for *φθάνω* he can use the prefix *προ-*, but what a difference in feeling and color; what a difference in feeling and color in the like use of the adjective, *λαθραῖος* for *λάβρα*, *σκοταῖος* or *σκότιος* for *ἐν σκότῳ*, 'darkling' for 'in the dark,' and the rest of the *-ιος* forms. The manner of the action becomes the characteristic of the agent and in some of the combinations we are not far from the concrete Hebrew. (See Pindar xci note.)² *πεμπταῖος* is 'the son of the fifth day' or as the Hebrew has it, the son of five days, just as *κλεινῖος* is the son of *κλεινίας*. Like the English 'son' in proper names, the feeling may be dulled somewhat but it can always be sharpened. The Jewish Mendelssohn thrusts itself on us by sheer bulk, but '-son' and '-sen' are not dead nor is *-ιος* dead. In some of the dialects it is the regular patronymic instead of the genitive. In Attic it is used with the feeling that reminds one of Fitz or Ap before names that are wont to take the Anglo-Saxon 'son.' *κλεινῖος* used of Alkibiades is like 'Fitz-Smith' or 'Ap-Smith' for 'Smithson.' But not to enlarge on this point which brings us into perilous proximity to the genitive, there is evidently a greater naïveté, a greater inliness in this use of the adjective for the adverb, *λαθραῖος* for *λάβρα*, *νύχιος* for *ἐν νυκτί*, and a grammatical category becomes a norm of style.

Indeed, every metastasis of the parts of speech is full of stylistic meaning. So the shift from preposition to adverb, from adverb to preposition. Preposition and adverb belong ultimately to the same category. But in Greek the preposition is sharply differentiated from the ordinary adverb by the facility with which it forms those loose compounds, which to the Greek are *παράθετα* rather than *σύνθετα*. Only in a few instances do preposition and verb grow together and form a corporeal unity. The augment and the reduplication come between verb and preposition. There is

¹ A. J. P. XII 76.

² Plat. Rpb. 614 B: δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρρῇ κείμενος ἀνεβίω.

no marriage, only a 'hand-fasting,' as the Scotch say. The Greek will not submit to more, and submits to this only with the preposition. The pseudo-prepositions may disport themselves with the cases, *ἀμα* may take the dative and *ἐνεκα* the genitive but a false Smerdis, if not the only one,¹ on the list of prepositions proper is *σύν*. Now the growth of this relation between the verb and the preposition we can divine from what the written language reveals. We can see how habit brings about love (*consuetudo concinnat amorem*)—how the independence of the prepositional adverb gives way to the seduction of the verb. The preposition as an independent adverb still exists in prose—but only in a few specimens. Even in poetry we feel more than we do in the case of the non-prepositional adverbs that where the preposition is, the mate cannot be far off. Hence the phenomenon is called tmesis, for union having become a second nature, non-union is construed as a divorce, and it is not necessary to speak of tmesis as the 'so-called' tmesis. Everyone can watch the growth of these alliances in certain verbs; everyone feels the difference between the adverbial state and the prefix state. 'Stretched out' and 'outstretched' are not the same even to us, nor 'fill up' and 'upfill'.² But it might be forcing the matter to attach too much importance to the stray prepositions that are still used as adverbs in Greek prose. It is a phraseological survival, an old tradition; and this maintenance of tradition lends raciness to style, makes it idiomatic. A style that abounds in idioms abounds also in traditions, abounds in those unreasoned survivals so precious to the student of language as language, not less precious to the student of language as art.

To the same sphere belongs the shifting use of the prepositions now in composition, now with their cases, now with both. The repetition of the preposition or the use of its synonyms with the case shows a desire to bring out the plastic character of the preposition which is apt to become effaced in the compound, and a large use of such repetitions is stylistically significant. In the earlier language it might be set down to the native desire for reduplication. But in the later language it would seem to show a

¹ Brugmann puts *διά* in the same category, Gr. Gr.³, p. 453, as Professor Miller kindly reminds me.

² Shakespeare, R. & J., I 3: 'I must upfill this osier cage of ours | With baleful weeds'; not to cite examples in which the sense is wholly different, as 'run out' and 'outrun.'

conscious desire to be plastic, a would-be naïveté of style. But it would be premature to formulate in this direction, for in spite of recent labors, there remains much to be done in the whole field of prepositions and prepositional combinations, and those who come after us will have to blush for Greek scholarship as we have to blush when we think that the sphere of *σύν* was not delimited until less than thirty years ago, though, it would seem, any novice might have been struck by the range of citation in the ordinary lexicons.¹ And now that one knows what one knows about *σύν*—which is by no means everything—one is apt to speak as if *σύν* had dropped out of the language, and yet the practical death of *σύν* as a preposition did not affect its life as a prefix, so that it can arise and shine as a preposition in later Greek. Xenophon, it is true, may have something to do with this rehabilitation, as Xenophon is accountable for a variety of revivals in later Greek, but Xenophon alone would not have sufficed.

In estimating, therefore, the frequency of prepositions as a norm of style it is necessary to consider both elements of the preposition, the preposition which takes a case, the preposition which serves as a prefix. A simple enumeration of the prepositions will not serve and *ὀλιγοπροθεσία, πολυπροθεσία* cannot be based, as Mommsen has based them, on what we may call for brevity's sake the ptotic preposition. Still the variation in the number of these ptotic prepositions is not without its interest, not without its significance. The writer who has to do with the practical realm of things in the outer world must perforce use a large number and great variety of prepositions, as we can see in the narratives of the orators. In the earlier language we should expect the local signification of the cases to be more sharply felt and the use of the ptotic prepositions to be less imperative. But no matter how far back we go, the preposition is needed for the plastic, the concrete in style. The early poet does, it is true, make free use of the dative as a where case, not so free use of the genitive as a whence case, but the accusative as a whither case is reduced to narrow limits and we must not exaggerate this locative use. And even if the figures show *ὀλιγοπροθεσία* as they do in Pindar, the prepositions must be weighed, not counted merely. Pindar's use of the prepositions

¹ In my Pape of 1849, my constant companion for many years, one reads, 'Homer u. Folgende überall,' and yet outside of Xenophon he cites only two passages, both from Plato, one from the Laws. And this is the kind of work that was accepted in my youth as respectable.

is extremely effective and may be set down as a gnomon of his style (Pindar I. E. xli, xcvi foll.). But it is not Pindar, it is the tragic poets that outdo early Greek in their locative use of the cases; and this is one of the marks of conscious antiquarianism in the drama that must not be lost sight of in making up the verdict on this manifestation of antique art. No one can study vocabulary or syntax historically without a serious reduction of the *naïf* in his estimates. Much is conscious effort that is set down to native impulse. But if our enjoyment is not to be marred by all this reflexion and all this analysis we must remember that the technique soon ceases to be conscious, that the burin becomes part of the engraver's hand. Not to cite the long vindication of analysis in art given by Dionysios (Dem. 1113 R. foll.), we may simply say with Euenos:

φημί πολυχρονίην μελέτην ἔμεναι φίλε καὶ δὴ
ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.

THE CASES.

From the consideration of the stylistic effect of a shift in the parts of speech we next approach the stylistic effect of a shift in the cases and here we encounter a number of delicate problems that need the application of those precise methods which so many despise. There is a sad if not a dreary lack of statistical and other material. We have dissertations without number on the use of such and such a case in such and such an author but, so far as I am aware, there has been no research into the average frequency of the occurrence of the several cases and no study of the conditions of the varying proportions. And yet vowels and consonants have been counted and that not merely for purposes of phonetic analysis. In our English type-cases the *e*-box is the largest of all. But even in advance of exhaustive investigation it would be safe to say that there must be a different normal use of the nominative in different languages, that there must be a different individual use of the nominative in different authors. Two authors, for instance, might be differentiated by their respective use of the nominative of abstract nouns. The nominative implies person or personification (A. J. P. XX III). That is the reason why the neuter has no nominative and the free personification of abstract nouns would be foreign to a simple, practical prose style, would be native to

poetry, to philosophy.¹ Much can be learned from a dry Index verborum. To be sure, one cannot take the nominative alone as, indeed, few phenomena of language can be considered alone. So, for instance, the range of the nominative and the range of the passive cannot be wholly dissociated. Some languages have an aversion to the passive. So the whole Germanic group. But in English the repugnance has been overcome by early translation from languages that use the passive freely and by close contact with Romance syntax, and we use the passive with the utmost readiness, nay, the English language is notoriously passive-loving.² It is a φιλυπτιωτάτη διάλεκτος, as one might say, and goes beyond its models. And this freedom in the use of the passive is furthered by the degradation of the cases, which enables us to turn the active into the passive as readily as does the Greek, nay, more readily. But when we compare Greek with Latin we see the difference. In Latin the dative is not turned into a nominative with the passive as in Greek, but recourse is had to an impersonal passive and φθονοῦμαι becomes *mihi invidetur*. This use of the impersonal, of the dative, carries with it a certain legal particularity of tone, which is in perfect accordance with the character of the Latin language. When the Latin language violates its rule we feel that it is off on a frolic with the Greek. At the same time it will be noticed that the Greek is much more shy of turning its so-called intransitives into impersonal passives. φθονεῖται μοι would be worse than *invideor*. The shyness of Greek is not as the shyness of Latin. Greek will not give up the life of its person, Latin will not give up the exactness of its case. But the characteristics of different languages as based on the relative frequency of their use of the nominative must await more detailed investigation; and it may suffice for the present to note that the effect of the free use of the nominative in Greek has not escaped the observation of the Greek rhetoricians. Ὁρθότης, or the use of the nominative and the finite verb, was to them a note of simplicity. (See A. J. P. IX 141.) This is the

¹ See A. J. P. X 37.

² 'The use of the passive is much more extensive in English than in French, as, in fact, in any language ancient or modern.' See Mätzner Engl. Gr.³, I 344. Super-Weil, On the Order of Words, p. 50. 'In Old English only transitive verbs could be used in the passive. 'We still hesitate over and try to evade such passive constructions as "she was given a watch," "he was granted an audience," because we still feel that *she* and *he* are in the dative, not the accusative relation.' Sweet, N. E. Gr. § 2312.

way in which stories have been told from time immemorial. This is the way in which fables begin. This is the way in which Lysias regularly opens his *narratio*. (A. J. P. IX 142 n.) But simplicity may be overdone. When we rise to a higher sphere like that of tragedy the fabulistic style is felt to be inappropriate and as early a critic as Aristophanes assailed Euripides for the mechanical uniformity of his prologues, which allowed the comic muse to 'hang a calf-skin on the recreant limbs' of tragedy, to substitute a dish-clout for the sable pall of Melpomene and to make *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* an immortal gibe.¹ The grand manner of Demosthenes avoids rather than seeks a nominative opening and what is called technically *πλαγιασμός* takes its place. That master of forensic chess disdains the ordinary gambit.

Nominative and accusative are the two poles of the explicit sentence, they are the two poles of the implicit sentence, the finite verb. *φονεύω* involves *ὁ φονεύς*, it involves also *τὸν φόνον*. No *λόγος* without the two. But there is a difference which pole is presented, whether we say *ἡ δημοκρατία κατελύθη* (Lys. 13, 4), or *κατέλυσαν τὴν δημοκρατίαν* (cf. § 12), or *τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσαν*. In translation, it is true, we are perfectly right to sacrifice active to passive or passive to active as the case may be, in order to bring out the emphasis of position, but translation is a poor approximation and should not be allowed to efface, in our minds at least, the native distinctions. The accusative has far more primitive force, has far more passion in it than the nominative, and in all moments of excitement rushes to the head of the sentence, so that this reversal of the poles of the sentence is a mechanical device that cannot be considered a perfect success, and yet if we retain the original order and say 'Him ye have taken', 'This Jesus hath God raised up,' everyone feels that the stress is overdone. This is a problem of perpetual recurrence and has not escaped our grammars, but involving as it does the order of words, it is either passed over lightly or answered by a mechanical formula that satisfies no one. It is, then, by no means a matter of indifference whether we express a thought actively or passively, whether the subject takes the place of the object or not — nay, the rhetoricians tell us that in some circumstances it makes a difference whether we use the nominative with the finite verb or the accusative and the infinitive,² but the distinction which they

¹ Ar. Ran. 1212.

² Theon II 74 Sp.

make is hardly a grammatical one. It simply amounts to saying that with the accusative and infinitive one shirks the responsibility and is therefore more modest.

OBLIQUE CASES.

The rivalry of nominative and accusative, though fairly recognized, is commonly relegated to the unsatisfactory category of emphasis, and so dismissed, but the real point, the rivalry between the oblique cases will not down and makes it hard to sit in the seat of those who are scornful of petty grammatical distinctions.

No grammar can escape the registry of these rival uses and a certain differentiation is demanded. When two cases have the same form, as dative and locative in Greek or as many datives and ablatives in Latin, how are we to tell which case is meant? Ordinarily in Latin the problem is simple enough, but sometimes it cannot be solved by grammatical tests. Sometimes the only test is the author's way of looking at things, just the same test that we apply to vocabulary in case of verbs, just as we say that in Pindar P. 2, 62: ἀναβάσσομαι στόλον, it is more poetical¹ and consequently more Pindaric to take στόλον in the sense of 'prow' than in the sense of 'voyage' as a cognate accusative to ἀναβάσσομαι, just as Mr. Pater translates *carrière ouverte* 'an open quarry' whereas ninety-nine hundredths of ordinary mortals would translate it 'open lists' or mayhap 'open career.'²

To take a Latin instance, if both dative and ablative are permissible, the choice will be determined by the way in which the author is wont to personify. But the problem of choice between ablative and dative is complicated by the fact that the ablative itself is a mixed case. To discover this was not reserved for our day. It was pointed out by Quintilian, who says that there is a certain natural amphiboly in the ablative and gives a concrete instance which he quotes from memory and misquotes, *caelo decurrit aperto*.³ Is *caelo aperto* local, is it circumstantial? So,

¹ See Jebb on Soph. Philoct. 343.

² Plato and Platonism, p. 96: 'We . . . will bring you like some perfectly accomplished implement to this *carrière ouverte*, this open quarry, for the furtherance of your personal interests in the world.' Needless to say, this is a little joke of Mr. Pater's like Plato's use of ἄλοχος (Theaet. 149 B). ἄλοχος, by the way, reminds me of Buchholz's κουρίδιος ἄλοχος (II 2, 7) and the painful necessity of learning some elementary things before one ventures on 'Homerische Realien.'

³ Cf. Quint. I. O. 1. 4, 26; 7, 9, 10.

modern commentators have asked if in *assiduo ruptae lectore columnae* the ablative *assiduo lectore* is instrumental or circumstantial. To me it is as instrumental as the famous *lassata viris* is instrumental but I recognize the right of private judgment and there are many instances in which the decision may fairly be in suspense. The dative is a mixed case; in Greek clearly so. Now the choice between the different elements of this mixed case in a given instance must be determined in large measure by the aesthetic character of the author and the department. Shall we have the cold local dative or the warm personal dative?¹ These are problems with which the personal equation of the investigator must interfere to a considerable extent. It is easier to reduce *dare* to a mere verb of motion in Latin than it is to perform the same office for *δοῦναι* in Greek,² but at the same time it is harder to depersonalize the dative in Latin than to depersonalize the dative in Greek. These are undoubtedly perplexing problems. Evidently we have to be guided by extra-grammatical considerations, so that while we are trying to frame a code of aesthetics out of grammar, we have to construct a grammatical code out of aesthetics. As Quintilian puts the problem, we should have to consider the extent to which the author and the period use the ablative of manner, the ablative of time, which has become the ablative absolute, and the locative ablative before we can decide a simple point of grammar. The mixed cases once thoroughly mixed must have lain to a certain extent undifferentiated in the consciousness of the users of the language, and to decide when this or that element is dormant, when it is awake and at work, is no easy matter and this universal difficulty is further complicated by the character of period, department, individual.

More tangible seems to be the problem when different cases are permissible and when there can be no question as to the form, as when we find the genitive of the owner and the dative of the possessor side by side, as when certain adjectives oscillate between dative and genitive. Yet even these differences are not to be measured by any mechanical rule. What an interval,

¹ See Pind. O. 2, 90; I. E. xciii; Thompson on Phaedr. 254 E.; A. J. P. VIII 253, 254; Conington on Verg. Aen. 10, 681.

² To the examples of *δοῦναι* with dat. before cited I beg to add Sim. Amorg. 7, 54: τὸν δ' ἄνδρα τὸν παρόντα ναυσίῃ διδοί. Eur. Bacch. 621: χεῖλεσιν διδοὺς ὀδόντας 'letting his lips have his teeth'. Eur. Tro. 96: ἐρημίᾳ δούς (cf. 'leaves the world to darkness and to me'). Plat. Rpb. 566 C: θανάτῳ δίδοται.

for instance, separates the fine ethical use of the pronoun from the coarse σχῆμα Κολοφώνιον with its ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Indeed, so crude is this ἡ κεφαλὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ that we can hardly believe the traditional example, for Greek normally uses the genitive with parts of the body. So crude is it that we are tempted to call it negro-Greek as *maître à moi* is negro-French. It may be hard to follow the finer lines of differentiation, and I myself have said (I. E. xciv), "There is a certain caprice in these matters that it is not profitable to pursue," but psychologists have made a special study of the knee-jerk¹ and the nimble capers of language must be followed up. There is clearly something more *naïf*, more dramatic about the dative than there is about the genitive. θυγάτηρ οἱ (Pind. O. 9, 16) is 'daughter to her' not 'her daughter'² and it would not be exaggeration to say that the encroachment of the dative on the genitive with adverbs and adjectives which we notice in certain authors shows a tendency to emphasize the personal relation; and assuredly this is a characteristic of style. It is the story of the genie. The dative releases the verbal element of the adjective which was shut up in the casket of the genitive. φίλος as a substantive takes the genitive, as an adjective it takes the dative.³

¹ See W. P. Lombard, Variations of the normal knee-jerk, Am. Journal of Psychology I, p. 5, 1888.

² To be sure, οἱ is now considered by some a virtual genitive and not a dative and Brugmann, Gr. Gr.³ p. 393, says that it is false to make the dative sense basic (vom dativischen Sinn auszugehen), as Dyroff and Kühner-Gerth have done. But that is not the last word on the subject, unless I am very much mistaken. That οἱ was a dative to the Greek feeling seems to be as plain as anything can be. See my note on the chiasmic use of genitive and dative, Pind. O. 6, 5. And it is with the Greek feeling that I have mainly to do in my researches. How far comparative grammar helps to that end is a subject not to be discussed in a footnote. 'Das drama,' says Wilamowitz (H. F. 626), 'drückt in der anrede das possessive verhältnis bei verwandtschaftswörtern durch den dativ aus, θυγάτηρ μοι, τέκνον μοι, γέναι μοι.' Does this mean the effacement of the difference between the dative of the possessor and the genitive of the owner (cf. Plato, Theaet. 197 B), or is it simply one of the many devices that remind us how far the language of the stage was from naïveté?

³ Of course, here also Delbrück and Brugmann have turned themselves and with themselves the grammatical world upside down, and I venture to heave again the sigh of which I delivered myself in my Chicago address of 1901: 'I must confess that I am in mourning because of the genitive and expect to go mourning all my days because of the genitive. In fact, I am tempted in dark hours to curse the genitive and die, or at any rate to say with Dame

πλησίον which normally takes the genitive, occasionally rebels against normality and the late ἐγγύς with the dative is a revolt of the living person against the dead place. The story of *par* in Latin is also instructive and the struggle of *plenus* to get rid of the genitive is not without significance. Verbs of touching in Pindar may take the dative. Is not this a part of his aloofness like the discarding of *iva* and the espousal of *ἄφρα*? In fact all the shifts of the cases have meaning. So, for instance, in the *κατά-* compounds, so many of which take the genitive, while *καταρᾶσθαι* takes the dative, as does *καταγελᾶν* in Herodotos to Cobet's intense disgust,¹ and *κατακρίνειν* follows *κρίνειν*. The anaconda, analogy, swallows and assimilates so much that what has escaped the analogic process may well arrest attention and, in fact, grammarians essay to answer some of these questions. But the answers are often unsatisfactory to the oracles themselves, and the full significance, the sharp characteristics cannot be formulated without a study of the cases that will have regard to the whole range of the language as well as to departments and individuals.

Not an uninteresting chapter in the rivalries of the cases is the story of the absolute uses. All the Greek cases are used absolutely. The vocative, of course. The nominative when used alone is a sentence in itself and cannot get rid of its implied verbal function. It is a manifestation of character, if nothing else. And yet at times it tries to be irresponsible, and then we call it a nominative absolute, but it is at best a *nominitivus pendens*, it is a functionary that is awaiting its function. We find the phenomena at one end in the *οἰόφρων πέτρα* that we call Aischylos, we find it at the other in the shallow feuilletonist Philostratos, but how different the tone, how different the

Quickly: "Vengeance of Jenny's case! Fie on her! Never name her!" The fact is, the genitive, the Greek genitive, seems to have gone wrong and I find it hard to accommodate myself to the reversal of the old views on the subject of that beautifully blended case. Theoretically I know how much a landscape gains by being viewed head down, and the regimen of the genitive is doubtless much more beautiful when you set the old theory on end, but when one is not only stiff in one's intellectual joints but has worn the academic and epicene attire of a professor for a few scores of years, the operation is not so easy as when one was more limber in his structure and had the freedom of bifurcated garments.'

¹ N. L. 97.

sphere. Three other cases enter the race—accusative, dative, genitive. The accusative gains a footing though comparatively late, the dative never wholly succeeds, never wholly fails, but the genitive becomes the absolute case by eminence. It might be not an altogether idle speculation to inquire why different languages have chosen this or that case for their absolute case, but for us it is of immediate importance to consider what is peculiar to Greek in the evolution of the genitive absolute and the significance of the evolution. Of course, everyone knows that the genitive absolute is not strictly absolute, but at the same time everyone feels the exceptional position and that is enough. I have been taken to task more than once for the use of figurative language in the domain of grammar, and one of my critics has been offended at my comparison of the genitive absolute with Milton's 'tawny lion pawing to get freed his hinder parts' (Pind. O. 6, 3). He says that nothing is gained by it. Perhaps not. But few scholars like any figures except their own, and for that matter critics have found fault with Milton's pawing lion as well as with my poor comparison. The paws, I need not say, are the participles and the hinder parts are the genitive, and the whole attitude represents the transition from the low relief of the earlier construction to the high relief of the later construction. But the lion is a terror to slothful intellects and possibly an impertinence here. Let us proceed soberly.

The genitive absolute was a gradual evolution. The dependent genitive released itself more and more from definite control until first familiar phrases gained their freedom and then long complexes. We can see the process going forward. The Homeric usage is an old story; the Pindaric usage marks a considerable advance on Homer and yet Pindar is much less free than Attic prose. A genitive that is dependent in Homer and Pindar may be independent in Plato and Demosthenes. The presumption is in favor of dependence in the earlier, of independence in the later writers. And this is a study that leads to another view of the cases, a stylistic view as well as a grammatical view. The cases have different tensile strength, different carrying power. Accusative and nominative can wait long for their regimen. Not so the genitive. If its regimen is to be felt it must be within easy reach and a genitive at the head of a sentence has a tendency to dissociate itself from the rest. Some uses of the genitive are, it is true, more tolerant than others. So

the partitive genitive can wait some time for its parts, but to Homer the distributive apposition is easier—that distributive apposition which is one of the features of Homeric syntax. No statistics are known to me in regard to this carrying power of the cases and evidently there must be a considerable difference in periods, department, individuals; and just as we find that the article has an enormous carrying power in the dactylo-epitrites of Pindar, which it lacks in the logaoedics, so in stately and deliberate language the genitive may carry much farther than in rapid conversation. We can see this by our use of the English equivalent of the genitive. 'Of man's first disobedience' is far enough from 'Sing, Heavenly Muse,' to set up an establishment of its own. But our minds are attuned to a more equable movement and we are not impatient. Elsewhere we should treat 'Of man's first disobedience' as if it were the title to a book like Milton's 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy' and we should not think of any regimen. This is what we find true of a number of genitives for which the grammars were good enough to supply *περί* or rather *περί*. But there is nothing to supply. The genitive at the head of the sentence without a regimen simply becomes an object of thought. If we must have a prop, let it be the neuter accusative article, let τοῦ τῆς τοῦ be τὸ τοῦ, τὸ τῆς, τὸ τοῦ, but no prop is needed.

The personal dative seems to have been almost ready to develop an absolute use and nearly approaches an absolute use in a number of phrases taken from everyday life, *εἰσιόντι, ἀψαμένῳ* and the like, but so sensitive is the dative that it sets up a relation anywhere and so ready is its attachment to any part of the sentence that grammarians are apt to consider it as dependent on the whole sentence rather than on any special word.

PREPOSITIONS.

If we pass from the cases to the prepositions we enter upon a field which has been worked in spots until the ground is pulverized with the statistical harrow, while in parts it lies absolutely fallow. Of polyprothesis and oligoprothesis something has been said already. Of the sphere of the different prepositions it is hardly possible to do more than give some illustrations. Each period, each dialect, each department, has a special register. Every author has his necessities, has his habits, has his

fads. A number of prepositions that parade themselves in our grammars by the side of the working members of prose society are really unpractical creatures, that are found chiefly in poetry, such as ἀμφί and ἀνά. In a recent edition of Pindar there is a long and rather fanciful excursus on ἀνά.¹ ἀνά is a fine old preposition, but it may be said of ἀνά as of Rose Aylmer, 'Ah! what avails the princely race.' ἀνά is dead to the prose of everyday life and κατά reigns in its stead. The large use of ἀνά gives at once an antique hue and we may expect to find it in conscious poetry. ἀμφί, which abounds in Pindar, has given way to περί. Thanks to legal phrases, and to its use by certain popular authors σύν holds on, and in later Greek there is a restoration of σύν, but such a model of deportment as Isokrates is careful to avoid a mixture of styles and no σύν is to be found in his orations. This scrupulous behavior of Isokrates was observed many years ago by Haupt, but it was not until 1874 that Mommsen set the character of σύν in its true light. This separation of prepositions into poetical and universal may, if you choose, be ranked under vocabulary and so escape syntax proper, but the poetical, the dialectic uses of the universal prepositions are assuredly syntactical and as assuredly stylistic. The gradual deadening of ἐπέρ into an equivalent of περί shows only one side of the process of change. In the course of time a preposition may be specialized and take on an atmosphere. So παρά narrows itself in prose to a personal use with genitive and dative. What is largely chez (casa) in prose is simply 'alongside' in poetry and if we transfer the personal connotation to poetry, we shall evidently give too much color, we shall evidently overdo. (Pindar, I. E., c and O. 1, 20.) The distinction, sharp and clear, which runs through prose remorselessly, despite the commentators, between διά with genitive and διά with accusative in a metaphorical sense, is naught in Homer because in Homer there is no διά with genitive, in the sense of a person through whom, and the distinction which is made in Homer, not with perfect assurance, between διά with genitive and διά with accusative in a local sense, falls away in prose which will have nothing to do with διά and the accusative in a local sense, and transfers that duty to the prefix διὰ so that we must say διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν or διαβαίνειν διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ and there is no διὰ πόντον to compare with διὰ πόντον. ἔξ to an Ionian

¹ J. B. Bury, Isthmian Odes, Appendix H.

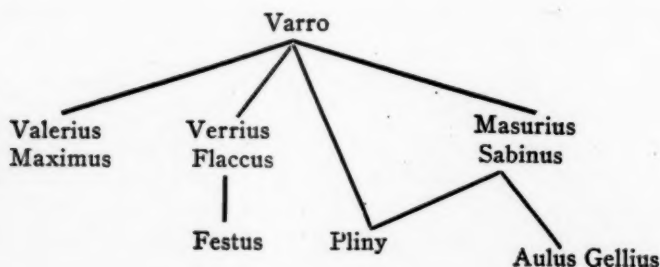
cannot have had so much color as it has to the writers of standard prose who differentiate it with more or less care from *ὑπό*. Those who change the Thukydidean *ἀπό* into the normal *ὑπό*, those who substitute *ἐν* for *ἐπὶ* with dative (A. J. P. XI 373) are sinning against individual rights which must be scrupulously guarded even if the assertion of those rights amounts, as it does in the case of Thukydides, to perverseness. As to the chapter on the favorite preposition, for which in the range of the Attic orators the industry of Lutz has provided us with ample statistics, we must be on our guard against rapid inference. That nothing is aesthetic that withdraws itself from perception is the baldest of truisms, and yet one must not lose one's footing on it; for perception is relative and figures are not to be despised. Figures serve to confirm impression, figures serve to train powers of observation, but microscopic differences in this direction and that, are of little avail. We must have large masses of phenomena, we must have startling contrasts. If one is told, for instance, that *ἐξ* is a favorite preposition with Isaios, one remarks languidly that Isaios had largely to do with inheritance cases and was obliged to use *ἐξ*. One would hardly recognize a stylistic element in the recurrence of 'cubits' in the account of the building of the tabernacle or in the history of the temple. One would not be impressed by 'out of' in a stud book. Somewhat different is the case when we come to Isokrates and his use of *πρός*, but with the shifting exigencies of the world about us, with the large variety of prepositions that we encounter, it is hardly possible to hear any dominant note, and if one begins to hear one note more than another, it is often at the expense of of the whole symphony. Hyperaestheticism is even more fatal to enjoyment than the dull content which considers all constructions alike.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

II.—THE ANNALS OF VARRO.

In 1848 Ritschl published in the *Rhein. Mus. Bd. VI* (=Op. 3, 419) Hieronymus' catalogue of the writings of Varro. In this list the ninth title is "tres libros annalium". Before this the existence of an annalistic work from the hand of Varro rested on a single citation in Charisius, the authority of which was quite generally doubted. In his discussion of the different works Ritschl (p. 445) came to the conclusion that the Annals was a chronological work of the same character as the *Chronica* of Nepos or the *liber annalis* of Atticus. He also compared the chronological survey in Aulus Gellius 17, 21, where Varro is cited together with Nepos and assigned this fragment of Varro to the Annals. Undoubtedly this comparison and the shortness of the work (three books) were Ritschl's reasons for assigning a chronological character to it. He further defined it as an extension or completion of the third section of the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, in which the subject of chronology was considered under the heading "quando agant".

Since Ritschl's time but little advance has been made in investigations on this work. L. Mercklin (*de Varrone coronarum Romanarum militarium interprete praecipuo quaestiones*, Dorpat, 1859) tried to derive the various statements about military crowns in Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Festus, Gellius, etc. from the Annals, but gave no sufficient reason for assigning them to this work in preference to others of Varro, while for Pliny and Gellius he held that the relationship was indirect. His outline for the same was as follows:



This explanation found no acceptance, nor did that of Gruppe (*Comment. Mommsen.*), who denied the existence of the Annals as of the *res urbanae*, another little-known work of Varro. Teuffel-Warr I, 258 cites Gruppe for the view that these works were a garbled selection from the *Antiquitates rer. hum.*, while in fact Gruppe thus describes the two citations of the same in Charisius. He therefore meant that these were incorrect citations for portions of the *res humanae*.

Another to touch on this work was Urlichs (*die Anfänge der griech. Künstler-geschichte*, Würzburg, 1871, p. 38). He continued in the path of Ritschl, insisting on the chronological character of the Annals, which he considered similar to the *Chronica* of Eusebius (Hieronymus) and so referred Pliny's brief descriptions and dates of many sculptors and painters to this source. This is pure conjecture, nor does it pretend to be anything more. Just as groundless is Urlichs' statement (*die Quellenregister zu Plinius' letzten Büchern*, Würzburg, 1878, p. 17) that the Annals were written after 44 B. C. His sole evidence is Cicero's failure to mention this work in the letters to Atticus (12, 23; 16, 13) when referring to Atticus' *liber annalis* or asking for chronological information. We might well ask why the *Chronica* of Nepos should not also be mentioned in these passages; it was certainly better known than the Annals of Varro and was written before 54 B. C. Neither does the form of expression in the two letters of Cicero suggest that the works of Varro or any one else ought to be mentioned. But not only are Urlichs' reasons for dating the Annals after 44 absolutely without weight but there are strong grounds for placing its composition somewhat earlier than that date. Whatever the exact contents of the Annals were, they must have dealt with the early history and institutions of Rome as did also the *res urbanae*, the books *de gente populi Romani* and those *de vita pop. Rom.* Now the chief work belonging to this line of Varro's studies was without question the *antiquitates rer. hum.*, to which the lesser works must have borne some relation in time of composition, whether we consider them as popular reproductions or as excerpts enriched by other material brought to light in his investigations into the early history of Rome. But the *res humanae* were written before the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, for the *res divinae* (the second part of the work) was dedicated to Caesar about 47 B. C. Furthermore the *libri IV de gente pop. Rom.* is shown by a fragment to have been written in 43 B. C. As this

was probably the most elaborate of the lesser historical works of Varro and required investigation into the period preceding the founding of the city, it is likely to have been one of the latest published. So we shall not be far wrong, if we consider that the *Annals* were published either before or at latest about this time. I am however inclined to take the former view and to interpret Cicero, *Acad. post.* 1, 3, 9 (published in July, 45) as referring to this work. The words in question are the following: "Tu aetatem patriae, tu discriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarum nomina genera officia caussas aperuisti". The 'sacrorum iura' and 'sacerdotum' plainly refer to Varro's work *res divinae* and the 'domesticam, bellicam disciplinam' to the *res humanae*,¹ while all his works dealing with ancient Rome are included in the reference of the last clause. The 'aetatem patriae' and 'discriptiones temporum'² were also in a general manner handled in the *res humanae*, but Cicero would hardly have separated them from the plain reference to the same contained in the words 'domesticam bellicam disciplinam', unless he were thinking of a separate work. The only other works which could have handled both these subjects are the *Annals* and the *libri de gente pop. Rom.* (published in 43 B. C.); so the *Annals* is the one referred to here. The last of the special subjects treated by Varro, which Cicero names in this sentence is 'sedem regionum, locorum'. If we take this in the more general sense of the geography of the empire, it must be referred to the *res humanae*, but in the special sense of the districts and places of the city it corresponds exactly with the supposed contents of the *res urbanae*. Thus in Cicero's whole sentence we should have 4 works referred to, with two descriptive phrases allotted to each. This seems to me much more natural than to think that no published works were referred to, or that only the two chief works were meant, in which case the first two and the last four expressions would have to be referred to the *res humanae*, while the second two would belong to the *res divinae*.

I have discussed this question of the date at some length, as the

¹ Cf. Aul. Gell. 1, 25, Varro in libro humanarum, qui est de bello et pace.

² I take this with Reid in the sense of chronological arrangements. If a more general meaning were given, which however the position next to aetatem seems to exclude, it would have to refer to the *res humanae*.

relation of the Annals to the other works of Varro can be intelligible only after the chronological succession of these works has been established. Now we may consider as certain that the Annals, belonging as they do to the historical works, were not written before Varro began his studies for the antiquitates, i. e. about 55 B. C. Neither are they likely to have been later than 43 B. C., the latest date to which we can refer any fragment from the historical works. They must therefore have preceded both the books de lingua Latina and the Imagines. If we accept that the passage in Cicero's *Academica* has the reference proposed, then we must suppose that the Annals were written at about the same time as the *res divinae*, which can be assigned to the years 47 and 46 B. C.

Turning our attention now to the contents and scope of the Annals, we consider first the two accepted fragments; Charisius 1, 105 (K.), *Scriptulum, quod nunc vulgus sine t dicit, Varro in Plutotoryne dixit, idem in annali*¹ (= *annal. I*) *nummum argenteum flatum primum a Servio Tullio dicunt. Is IIII scripulis maior fuit quam nunc est. Gellius 17, 21, 23, neque multo postea Eudoxus astrologus in terra Graecia nobilitatus est Lacedaemoniique ab Athenienses apud Corinthum superati duce Phormione et M. Manlius Romae, qui Gallos in obsidione Capitolii obrepentes per ardua depulerat, convictus est, consilium de regno occupando inisse, dampnatusque capitis e saxo Tarpeio, ut M. Varro ait, praeceps datus, ut Cornelius autem Nepos scriptum reliquit, verberando necatus est; eo ipso anno, qui erat post reciperatam urbem septimus (= 384 B. C. Varronian) Aristotelem philosophum natum esse . . .* We have in these two fragments a notable occurrence and a notable man mentioned. In both cases the dating is by reference to some more prominent event, the one in the reign of Servius Tullius, the other after the capture of Rome. In the second fragment only the first statement about Manlius can be certainly ascribed to Varro, yet it is likely that he also as well as Nepos compared the chief events of Greek history, especially in so far as it came in touch with Rome. The exact year of the event, which Gellius has expressed as *annus*

¹ *Annal. I* is the proper emendation; *ann.*, *anna.*, and *annal.* are common abbreviations for the various cases of *annalis*, and these were often misunderstood; cf. Nonius 480 *Quadrigarius annali* (= *annal. I*); Nonius 29 *Caelius annavi* (*anavi*) = *annal. I* (*anna. VI*); Nonius 508 *annal. li. I* (in one MS). In *anhali* cannot be used as a general designation for a work in three books.

septimus post reciperatam urbem,¹ was probably further designated by the names of the consuls. Also the tendency of Gellius to date events by reference to better known ones, and the consequent scarcity of exact dates in this chapter may be considered as evidence that neither Varro nor Nepos offered a complete schedule of the years of the republic with the events of each year. As frg. 1 came in the first book of the Annals Varro did not devote much space to the period before the founding, and as the purely chronological matter would not require much space, there would be abundant room, even in three books, to handle much other matter. In this was included not only notable events but also famous men, as the example of Manlius shows us. Note how, in brief space, the great deeds, crime, condemnation and execution of the man are given. We have a right to infer that Varro handled in like manner all the famous men of Rome. In this respect the work would have many points of similarity with the Imagines, which Varro published in 39 B. C. The Romans treated of must have been nearly the same in the two works, but the mention in the Annals was much briefer.

With this general view of the Annals, we pass now to the search for hidden fragments of the same, considering first the enumeration of the deeds of L. Sicinius Dentatus. I give first three versions in parallel columns, with similar expressions in italics.

AULUS GELLII 2, 11.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.²

FESTUS, p. 190 (M.).

¹ *L. Sicinium Dentatum*,
² qui tribunus plebi fuit,
 Sp. Tarpeio, A. Aternio
 consulibus, scriptum est in
 libris annalibus, ³ *plus quam*
credi debeat, strenuum bel-
latorem fuisse nomenque ei
factum ob ingentem for-
titudinem appellatumque
esse ⁴ *Achillem Romanum*.
Is pugnasse in hostem dicitur
⁵ *CXX proeliis*, ⁶ *cicatricem*

Sed quod ad proeliorum
 excellentem fortitudinem
 adinet, merito, ¹ *L. Sicinii*
 (Sicci) *Dentati* commemo-
 ratio omnia Romana ex-
 empla finierit, cuius opera
 honoresque operum ³ *ultra*
fidem veri excedere iudicari
possent, nisi ea certi auctores,
 inter quos M. Varro, monu-
 mentis suis testata esse
 voluissent, quem ⁵ *centies et*

Obsidionalis
 corona . . . nam
 et P. Decio datae
 duae . . . et ¹ *L.*
Sergio (Secinio)
Dentato, ⁴ qui
 Achilles Romae
 existimatus est,
 ac fertur ⁵ *centies*
 et vicies pro rep.
 depugnasse,
⁶ *coronis donatus*

¹ This is used to date the following event, but *eo ipso anno* means the same year. For this use of *ipse* cf. Meader, the Latin Pronouns, p. 165 ff.

² For other views on this Varro citation, see literature in Schanz, Gesch. Röm. Lit. II, 2, p. 200.

AULUS GELLIUS 2, 11.

aversam nullam, adversas XLV tulisse,¹ coronis donatus esse ^aaureis VIII, ^bobsidionali I, ^cmuralibus III, ^dciviciis XIII, ^etorquibus LXXXIII, ^farmillis plus CLX, ^ghastis XVIII, ^hPhaleris item donatus est quinquies viciesque. ⁱSpolia militaria habuit multiiuga, ^jin his provocatoria pleraque. ^kTriumphavit cum imperatoribus suis triumphos IX.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS 3, 2, 24.

vicies in aciem descendisse tradunt, eo robore animi atque corporis utentem, ut maiorem semper victoriae partem traxisse videretur; ¹²XXXVI spolia ex hoste retulisse, quorum in numero, ¹³VIII fuisse eorum, cum quibus inspectante utroque exercitu ex provocatione dimicasset, ¹⁴XIII cives ex media morte raptos servasse, ¹⁵V et XL vulnera pectore excepisse, tergo cicatricibus vacuo: ¹⁶IX triumphales imperatorum currus secutum, totius civitatis oculos in se numerosa donorum pompa convertentem; praeferebantur enim ¹⁷aureae coronae VIII, ¹⁸civicae XIII, ¹⁹murales III, ²⁰obsidionalis I, ²¹torques LXXXIII, ²²armillae CLX, ²³hastae XVIII, ²⁴phalerae XXV, ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi satis multa.*

FESTUS, p. 199 (M.).

XXVI, in his
^aaureis VIII,
^dciviciis XIII,
^cmuralibus III,
^bobsidionali I.

Not only is there exact agreement in all the items mentioned, but the order in which they are given corresponds in a no less wonderful degree, if we allow for a single intentional change of order in each of the two, Valerius and Gellius. I have numbered the different statements from 1 to 14 as they stand in Gellius, and repeat the numbers alone here to show more clearly the agreement in order.

GELLIUS.

VALERIUS.

FESTUS.

1

1

1

2

—

—

3

3

—

4

—

4

* MSS give CLXXXIII, but emendation is certain.

GELLIUS.	VALERIUS.	FESTUS.
5	5	5
—	12	—
—	13 (+ 7d a repetition)	—
6	6	—
—	[14	—
7	7	7
8	8	—
9	9	—
10	10	—
11	11	—
—	—	—
12	—	—
13	—	—
14	—	—

We see that Valerius transferred the mention of No. 14 (the 9 triumphs) from its natural position at the end to an earlier place, so that he might introduce the spectacle of his hero having all his decorations and presents carried before him in triumph before the admiring gaze of the citizens. If we disregard the mention of the "XIIII cives ex media morte raptos servasse", which is only a repetition and explanation of the 'coronae civicae XIIII', we have the order given by the common source.

Nos. 12 (*spolia militaria*) and 13 (*provocatoria*) were omitted by Gellius in their proper place and then inserted from memory just before the end. The omission of the number of spoils won in these two cases shows plainly that Gellius unintentionally omitted them in his excerpt, and recalling them to mind when he wrote out the chapter, preferred to insert them in this general manner at the end rather than to look up his reference again. In order to make more clear the agreement in order between Gellius and Valerius, I have classed the four kinds of crowns under a single head. Considering them separately, we find another change of order on the part of Gellius, while Festus agrees exactly with Valerius. The order in these two is aureae coronae VIII, civicae XIIII, *murales* III, obsidionalis I, i. e., in ascending scale according to importance. The civic crown is generally ranked second in importance (cf. Pliny 16, 3), but as bravery and strength are emphasized here, the mural (prize for ascending walls of besieged city first) is placed higher this time.

Gellius in his enumeration preserved the golden crowns in first place as he found them, but changed the order of the others so as to make an ascending scale in the number of the separate kind of crowns.

We thus see that even the slightest variations in the order can be naturally explained from the manner of writing of the two authors. In Festus there are no changes in order, but merely omission of items which were irrelevant. In comparison with the otherwise perfect agreement of the authors these slight changes sink into insignificance, and we are forced to conclude that all three used the same work as a source. But Valerius cites Varro as his authority and Gellius found his passage "in libris annalibus". The natural combination of these two is "Varro in libris annalibus", and as we have seen above (frg. 2 of the Annals), this work was used by Gellius.

But it may be suggested that in Gellius we have only an exact copy of the annalist whom Varro used. Against this view can be urged not only the almost complete agreement of the two versions, which renders a more distant relationship most improbable, but also the presence in Gellius of the introductory statement that Dentatus was tribune in the consulship of Tarpeius and Aternius. This form of dating the man corresponds with the chronological character of the Annals of Varro. The omission of the date in Valerius is in accord with his general system; for him the example and not the time is the important matter. Why he also omitted the statement that Dentatus was the Roman Achilles is not so clear, as such an omission is an exhibition of common sense, which we would hardly expect from him. The presence however of the statement both in Gellius and in Festus, though the latter otherwise agrees more closely with Valerius, makes it certain that it stood in Varro. But there is still another notable agreement between Valerius and Gellius which has not been noted, for Valerius says that the deeds and honors of Dentatus *could be considered beyond belief*, if there were not reliable authorities for the same among whom was Varro. This is plainly borrowed from Varro himself, with the name of Varro added because he had failed to name his *reliable authorities*. The proof of this is the fact that we find an echo of the same in Gellius' statement that Dentatus was a more vigorous warrior than *ought to be believed*.

Another author to make use of Varro's Annals for this passage was Dionysius Halicarnasensis 10, 37:

Δούκιος Σίκκιος . . . μάχας μὲν ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἷς διατελῶ στρατευόμενος, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι μεμάχημαι· τραύματα δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα εἴληφα, καὶ πάντα ἐμπρόσθια, κατὰ νῶτον δ' οὐθέν. καὶ τούτων δώδεκά ἐστιν, ἃ συνέβη μοι λαβεῖν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅτε Σαβίνος Ἐρδώνιος τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατελάβετο. ἀριστεία δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐξηνήνεγμαι τεσσαρασκαίδεκα μὲν στεφάνους πολιτικούς, οἷς ἀνέδυσάν με οἱ σωθέντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τρεῖς δὲ πολιορκητικούς, πρῶτος ἐπιβάς πολεμίων τείχεσι καὶ κατασχῶν, ὅκτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐκ παρατάξεως, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐτιμήθη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ τρεῖς χρυσοῦς στρεπτοῦς περιανχενίους, [ἑκατὸν] δὲ ἐξήκοντα περιβραχιόνια χρύσεια, δόρατα δ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα, φάλαρα δ' ἐπίσημα πέντε πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, ὧν ἑννέα ἦσαν, οὓς μονομαχῆσαι τινα ἡμῶν προκαλεσαμένους ἐκούσιος ὑποστὰς ἐνίκησα.

Dionysius has inserted the enumeration in a speech and in so doing omitted two points, the spoils and the triumphs. The others are in the same order as his source except the statement about the single combats, which is placed at the end. The order, in which the different kinds of crowns are given, is confused and the obsidionalis omitted. The presence of a second source is shown by the mention of the duration of his campaigns, the 12 wounds in one day, etc. The error that 60 bracelets are mentioned instead of 160 is not due to the second source, but the text must be corrected as later editors have seen.

Thus far our task has been comparatively simple, but we have still to consider the passage in Pliny 7, 101: L. Siccus Dentatus, qui tribunus plebei fuit Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos. haud multo post exactos reges, vel numerosissima suffragia habet centiens viciens proeliatu, octiens ex provocatione victor, XLV cicatricibus adverso corpore insignis, nulla in tergo. idem spolia cepit XXXIII,¹ donatus hastis puris XVIII, phaleris XXV, torquibus LXXXIII, armillis CLX, coronis XXVI, in is civicis XIII, aureis VIII, muralibus III, obsidionali I, fisco aeris, X captivis et XX simul bubus, imperatores novem ipsius maxime opera triumphantes secutus praeterea (quod optimum in operibus reor) uno ex ducibus T. Romilio ex consulatu ad populum convicto male imperatae rei militaris. Mommsen (Röm. Forsch. I, 110 n. 88) and Kempf (Val. Max.) hold that the passage of Pliny was taken from Valerius Maximus; but after our present investigations only a glance is necessary to teach us that this is impossible, for Pliny agrees better with Aulus Gellius, though giving many points not found in either. Thus he inserts the

¹Valerius Maximus gives XXXVI, but should be emended, as Solinus supports Pliny.

additions that Dentatus was presented with "*fisco aeris, decem captivis et viginti simul bubus*". Also the *hastae* are properly described as *purae*, though that designation is not found in Valerius, Gellius or Dionysius; then too the episode about T. Romilius is added at the end and the order of the items is entirely different. Using the same numbers for the different statements which we used in Gellius and Valerius, and adding the numbers 15 to 18 for the four additional items, we have the following order: 1, 2, 5, 13, 6, 12, 10, 11, 8, 9, 7, 15, 16, 17, 14, 18. Considering No. 7 (the crowns) separately, as we did before, we find a different arrangement here also, as they have been placed in a numerical order with the largest number (the 14 civic crowns) first and the one *obsidionalis* last. In spite of these differences the relationship, especially with the version in Gellius, is very noticeable. Compare particularly the statement that Dentatus was "*tribunus plebei . . . Sp. Tarpeio A. Aternio cos.*", though this is not found in Valerius. It is plain, then, that the source of Pliny is closely related to the common source of Gellius, Valerius, Dionysius and Festus, but that it gave the description of the hero in a more extended form. What this source was we can learn from Pliny himself, for the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned by him in two other passages, B. 16, 14 and 22, 9. The name is given each time in the same form, and in book 22 the 120 battles are also mentioned as well as the crowns. There can be no doubt that all three passages were drawn from the same source. If we turn to Pliny, n. h. 1, where he has enumerated the sources of all his books, we find, to be sure, that Valerius Maximus is mentioned among the sources of book 7, but he is not found either for book 16 or 22. So we have another proof that he could not have been the source of Pliny for this statement. The only authors cited by Pliny for all three books are Varro, Masurius Sabinus and Cato, one of whom must have been the source for the Dentatus story. But we can, I think, decide between the three; according to Brunn's¹ law Pliny enumerated his sources (in the index of them in book 1) in the order in which they were first cited or used without mention of name, though some deviations were brought about by changes made during the progress of the work, or by later additions, or in some cases by the grouping of the sources for books handling

¹ H. Brunn, *De auctorum indicibus Plinianis*, Bonn, 1856.

the same subjects. Book 7 is a particularly puzzling example of such deviations¹ and as a whole has not been explained with entire satisfaction. Perhaps the following explanation will remove some of the difficulties. The first five authors in the index (Verrius Flaccus, Cn. Gellius, Mucianus, Masurius and Agrippina) seem to be enumerated in inverse order according to the last citation of each beginning at the end of the book (the last citations are in sections 180, 198, 159, 135 and 46 respectively). This arrangement can be explained on the basis that Pliny had not included these authors in his first outline of the book, and so they were lacking in his first index of the sources; when the book was completed, he listed the authors of the extra excerpts he had included, naturally taking the last one first. Pliny usually appended at the end of his list the authors from whom excerpts had been added later, but there was no rule compelling him to do so, and chance or the importance of the authors may have caused a different procedure this time. That some explanation of the variation in order is necessary is shown by the index of the Greek authors for the same book; for in a list of 49 authors there is among those actually cited but one variation from the order in which they were used in the book. Turning now to the remaining Roman authors of book 7, we find them given in the following order, to which I add the section number of the first citation of each, if cited: Cicero (18), Asinius Pollio, Varro (13), Messala Rufus, Nepos, Vergil, Livius, Cordus, Melissus, Sebosus, Cornelius Celsus, Valerius Maximus (33), Trogus (33), Nigidius Figulus (66), Atticus, Asconius (159), Fabianus, Cato, Acta (60), Fabius Vestalis (213). By far too large a proportion are not cited for us to draw certain conclusions. It would seem that Cicero was used in some passage earlier than § 18, and so was naturally placed before Varro. The citation of the Acta may have been an addition by Pliny after the original publication of the work in 77 A. D., or when writing he may have inserted it at a point earlier than he had planned. However we explain these discrepancies, the arrangement as a whole points to Varro as the author of the passage in question (i. e. § 101); for Cato is named in the list after Asconius, who is cited first in § 159. As Masurius is in the number of those whom I consider as later additions, he can hardly have been the

¹ Cf. Urlichs, *Jahrb. Phil. and Paedag.* 75, 337.

source of a passage so long and necessary to the context as the one under discussion. To this is added the fact that Varro is cited for six other passages in book 7 (§§ 75, 83, 176, 211, 214), thus showing that he was used often and throughout the whole book.

The evidence of book 16 is still more conclusive. The Roman authors in the order of the index with the section number of the first citation of each in the book are: Varro (115), Fetalis, Nigidius Figulus (25), Nepos (36), Hyginus (231), Masurius (75), Cato (193), Mucianus (213), Piso (192), Trogus, Calpurnius Bassus, Cremutius (108), Sextius Niger (51), Cornelius Bocchus (216), Vitruvius, Graecinus (241). The early position of Varro and Hyginus in the list shows that they were used earlier than the places where first cited. The use of Varro must have begun in the first chapters, as Nigidius Figulus who comes third in the list is cited in § 25. As the crowns of Dentatus are mentioned in § 14, it coincides exactly with our expectations. Masurius and Cato both come so much later in the list that they cannot be considered as possible sources for our passage. In the latter part of the list there is a manifest confusion (cf. Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 389), but it has no connection with the matter under discussion here. Book 22 furnishes no evidence on the order of sources, as they are given as identical with book 21.

We see therefore that Pliny, in spite of his variations in the Dentatus legend, must have used Varro as his source. If the work he used was the *Annals*, then he added to it from other sources and varied the order arbitrarily. Such procedure was not called for by the character of his work nor suggested by the excerpt method, which he made use of, still it must be admitted as a possibility, though a comparison of Pliny with his extant sources has shown that he was more apt to shorten and condense than to expand, when making his excerpts (cf. Heigl, *die Quellen des Plinius im 11. Buch*, Marburg, 1885; Stadler, *die Quellen des Plinius im 19. Buch*, Munich, 1891; Detlefsen, *Philol.* 31, 385; Sprengel, *Rhein. Mus.* 46, 54). But we are not forced to accept any such improbable explanation, for there is another work of Varro, the *Imagines*, which would have included the story of Dentatus. In this work were combined portraits and brief lives of Greek and Roman celebrities (kings, generals, statesmen, poets, prosewriters, professional men and those famous in other lines). The work was published after the

Annals, so that the dates of the different men as well as many of the more important statements about them would have been only a repetition of the facts given there. On the other hand the greater size of the work (7 books devoted to Romans) as well as the purely biographical character, shows that the individual men must have been treated at much greater length. The corrections also, which appear in the version of Pliny, indicate that we have a later emended edition of the life. Whether Pliny in making his excerpt himself condensed the story out of the *Imagines* or made use of Varro's 4-book epitome of the same, we can not, of course, decide.

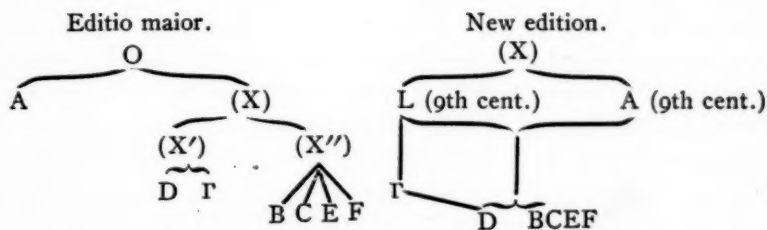
The question will perhaps be raised, whether Dentatus, who is styled *tribunus plebei*, would have been included by Varro among his distinguished men, but I have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative; for in addition to the fact that he belonged to the prehistoric time, from which it was more difficult to get examples about whom much was known, he had actually served as a general, otherwise he could not have obtained the *corona obsidionalis*, which was presented by a besieged army to the general who broke up the siege (cf. Festus, p. 190 M.).

This legend seems to have been mentioned in a third work of Varro. Compare Fulgentius (in Nonius ed. Gerlach & Roth, p. 560): *et apud Romanos Varro scripsit Sitium Dentatum centies et vicies pugnasse singulari certamine; cicatrices habere e contra quadraginta quinque, post tergum nullam; coronasse accepisse XXVI, armillas CLX, et istum primum sacrum fecisse Marti.* This is cited to the word '*nefrendes*' merely for the sake of the mention of the sacrifice at the end, an item which occurs in none of the other versions; it is likely that the original source of the passage was Varro's *res divinae*.

There still remains for consideration the full name of our hero, whom I have heretofore called Dentatus to avoid confusion. In Gellius he is L. Sicinius Dentatus, but Pliny makes the middle name Siccus, while some manuscripts of Valerius Maximus give one and others the other. Dionysius and Livy both give Siccus, which must be accepted as correct, for the other writers having Sicinius are both late. Cf. Solinus 1, 102 and 106; Ammianus Marcellinus 25, 3, 13; 27, 10, 16. Festus has '*Sergio*' according to both Müller and Thewrewk de Ponor (repeating the text of Ursinus), though Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* 1, 110) states that the earlier editions as well as the Vatican copy (No. 1549) of the lost

portion of the MS Farnesianus have 'Secinio'. If this were a correction by an Italian scholar I should expect to find the name properly spelled. As the early editions represent the copy of the lost manuscript by Angelus Politianus, we have the authority of two copies against the undoubtedly more careful copy of Ursinus. It seems the latter must have made the mistake this time, for the form Sicinius is here required, as the passage is derived through the medium of Verrius Flaccus from the source of Gellius, where all the manuscripts give the name Sicinius.

In Valerius Maximus all editors before Kempf printed Sicinius after the majority of the manuscripts. Kempf changed to Siccus partly on the evidence of Pliny, whom he wrongly considered as copied from Valerius. We should rather reinforce the authority of the manuscripts by comparison with Gellius and Festus, which are from the same source. But these two throw their evidence for Sicinius, which we must accept in Valerius even though the manuscript evidence seems somewhat stronger for the other form. The stemma of the MSS of Valerius according to Kempf is as follows:



A, the best manuscript, has 'Sentii' in an erasure; this is a correction taken from the *Epitome of Paris*, which has 'Sentii' in all manuscripts. *L*, *D*, and *C* have 'Sicci' while *r* has 'Sicii'. *B* has 'Sicini' and *E* 'Sicinei'; *F* is wanting in this portion. As *C* is late and much interpolated, while *B* is a good manuscript of the 13th century, the class *B, C, E, F* must rest on the authority of *B, E*. Is *Sicini* in this class an attempted correction or was that the original reading of *A* or whatever manuscript may have been the source of this class? I have decided for *Sicinius* as the original reading and restore it to the text for 3 reasons: 1st, the source used by Valerius requires it; 2d, the form *Siccus* was well known from *Livy* and *Pliny*, and would therefore be more likely to be interpolated than *Sicinius* which would have to come from a knowledge

of Gellius or Solinus; 3d, the occurrences of Siccius in the MSS of Valerius can be traced to the manuscript L, the writer of which showed a tendency to correct proper names. This is especially shown by the filling out of initials (cf. Kempf ed. min. p. XXIII). Though restoring Sicinius to the text here I must repeat it is originally a mistake for Siccius, caused by confusion with the better known family. The mistake must have been made by Varro in the *Annals*, as its appearance in all the descendants shows. In the *Imagines* he corrected to the proper form as we see from Pliny and he wrote Siccius also in the *res divinae* if we refer the 'Sitius' of Fulgentius to that source.

We have still to consider how the form Sicinius came to appear in Solinus in a passage taken verbatim¹ from Pliny. As this form appears also in Ammianus Marcellinus in two passages copied from Solinus, there can be no doubt that the text is correct. What then induced Solinus to make the change? Here again we can trace the mistake to Varro's *Annals*, though the Varronian fragments in Solinus are all indirectly derived. Mommsen (*Praef. ad Solin.*) has shown that the Pliny excerpts in Solinus were not taken directly but had been combined with other material especially chronological and geographical by some predecessor. The chronological work used was that by Cornelius Bocchus of the time of Claudius (cf. Mommsen, p. 14).² But this was in turn mostly a compilation of his predecessors, if we may judge by the number of other historians cited by Solinus, the mention of whom must have come through Bocchus. According to Mommsen there are 22 of these, including both Greek and Latin; he also states that none of these lived later than Nepos, a statement which is true but misleading, for Unger (*Rhein. Mus.* 35, 19) was induced by some such thought to assert that Nepos in turn was the chief source of Bocchus. But we know that Nepos wrote his *Chronica* sometime before 54 B. C. Furthermore Varro is also cited for a subject which would naturally be referred to the *Annals*, viz., the founding

¹ Therefore in Solinus I, 103 'in phaleris hastis puris armillis coronis CCCXII dona meruit' must be emended by inserting 'torquibus' before or after 'phaleris'. (I am in doubt whether this is a mistake of the manuscripts or of Mommsen's edition.)

² Schanz, *Röm. Litt.* III, 203 suggests Suetonius as the direct source of Solinus and the combiner of the chronological material from Bocchus with excerpts from Pliny, Mela and others. Some such intermediary is necessary, but we can not be sure that it is Suetonius or that it all came through one.

of Rome, and we have seen above that this work was published after 55 B. C. at the earliest. There are also citations from Cicero (from Brutus pub. 46 B. C.) and from Atticus' *liber annalis* (after 51 B. C.) Likewise L. Tarruntius the astrologer, who dedicated his horoscope of Rome to Varro, is cited. It is plain from all this, either that Nepos was not the chief source of Bocchus or that much of the historical information in Solinus did not come through Bocchus. Of the latter Varro was surely a direct source and probably some others were used, though there was undoubtedly much repeating of citations from the different sources. The fact that Varro was one of the sources can not be called in question, but it is not so certain that the particular work was the *Annals*. We know from Arnobius 5, 8 that Varro gave his date for the founding of the city and his discussion of the same in the *libri de gente pop. Rom.* and so all fragments relating to this subject have generally been assigned to that work. Still the *Annals* as a chronological work must have assigned a date to this event, though no such thorough discussion of the question as in the larger work could have appeared there. The date (753 B. C.) would have been the same as it had already appeared in the work of Atticus.¹ Also the fact that Varro is not cited by Solinus for the *date* of the founding of Rome, though 8 of his predecessors are, points to him as the intermediate source of all the citations. Before he made his own investigations, published in the *de gente pop. Rom.* he would have been likely to cite these predecessors and to have chosen the most probable of them for his statement in the *Annals*. Bocchus took the citations without naming Varro, and Solinus or his source treated Bocchus in like manner. The brevity and chronological character of all these works also tend to confirm the view that the shortest chronological work of Varro, i. e. the *Annals*, was the original source. It is besides certain that the name Siccius was changed to Sicinius in accordance with this source and this form of the name as we have seen must be traced to the *Annals*, for Varro corrected the mistake in his other works, the *Imagines* and the *res divinae*.

Even the short astrological computation from Tarruntius may have been taken by Bocchus-Solinus from the *Annals*, though

¹ We know from Cicero's *Academica* I, 3, 9 that Varro also had determined a date previous to 45 B. C., though the *de gente pop. Rom.* was not published till 43 B. C. Yet Cicero nowhere alludes to a difference between Atticus and Varro.

Varro must have given a fuller version of the same in the *de gente pop. Rom.* We thus see that everything points to the *Annals* of Varro as one of the principal sources of Bocchus-Solinus. Of the various reasons the appearance of the name Sicinius is certainly a strong one, the others are merely confirmatory in character.

On this basis we may consider the *Annals* as the indirect source not only of the passage of Solinus on the founding of Rome, for which Varro is cited, but also of the other passages which can be shown to be Varronian, except those derived through Pliny or taken from the *de litoralibus* (*de ora maritima*) which is cited. As possible fragments of the *Annals* we may enumerate:

Solinus 1, 13 (porta Pandana) cf. Varro l. l. 5, 42.

" 1, 14 (Pallatium and Reate) cf. Varro, r. r. 3, 1, 6; Pliny 3, 109.

" 1, 17 Varro cited.

" 1, 18 Tarruntius cited.

" 1, 19 (the Parilia) cf. Festus, p. 222 (M.)

" 1, 20 (spolia opima and king Acron) cf. my *Quellen-contamination im 21. und 22. Buche des Livius*, p. 47.

Solinus 1, 21-23 (the residence, length of reign, date of death and place of burial of the kings). Note particularly the dates of death for Numa (ol. 27), Hostilius (ol. 35), Ancus Marcius (ol. 41). These three dates agree exactly with the Varronian date of the city (753), if we take the expression *olympiade septima et vicesima*, etc. to mean the first year of the olympiad, i. e. the summer when the games occurred. The usual interpretation would place the death any time during the four years of the olympiad. It is noticeable that the dates of the deaths of the other kings are not given in olympiads as they would not have coincided with Olympian festivals according to the Varronian system of dating. Varro may have noticed the coincidence in the case of the three kings and so dated their deaths 'incipiente olympiade, etc', for Bocchus would have to omit the participle to keep the discrepancy with his system of chronology from being too apparent.

Solinus 1, 34 (the original 10 month year) cf. Censorinus 20.

" 2, 5 (Janiculum and Janus) cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 245.

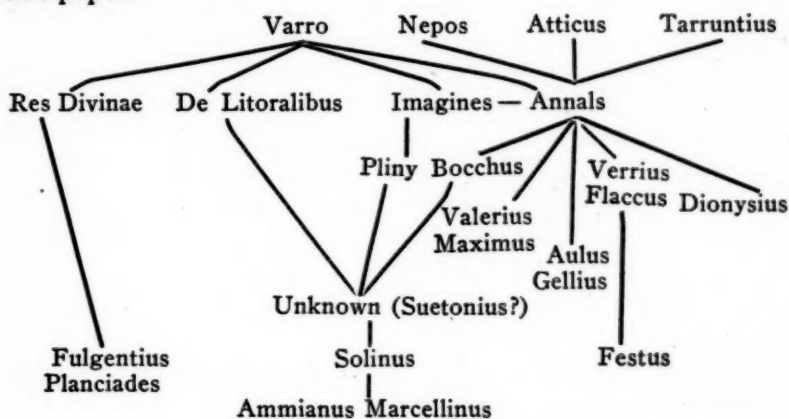
" " (Saturnia and Saturn) cf. Varro, l. l. 5, 42.

Also in Aulus Gellius there are other concealed fragments of the *Annals*, as the following:

17, 21, 13 (the death of the 300 Fabii dated the 4th year after Salamis).

17, 21, 16 (date of the beginning of 2nd Punic War).

17, 21, 40 (date of first Punic War). All these dates agree with the chronology of Varro rather than Nepos. The Annals may also have been used in other chapters of Gellius or Valerius Maximus but in all such passages we have not sufficient data to distinguish between the different works of Varro as sources. The following is the outline for the relation of sources shown in this paper.



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III.—WORD-ACCENT IN EARLY LATIN VERSE.

FIRST PAPER.

The greater harmony between word-accent and verse-ictus in early Latin iambic and trochaic verse has been generally regarded as due to the stress-quality of the accent. Though it is granted that the fundamental structural principle followed in this early verse was that based on differences of quantity, as it was in the Greek models, yet with the possibility, which in present opinion amounts almost to certainty, that the Latin accent was not a pitch-accent, but a stress-accent, this assumed stress is thought to have had a considerable influence in shaping the verse, and especially to have resulted in giving the verse, in early times, a more pronounced "accentual" character than it possessed in the classical period. As it happens, all our extensive specimens of this early verse are preserved to us in comedy, whose language is necessarily that of every-day life and thus enjoys a freedom from conventionalities not permitted in other classes of poetry. On general principles it does not seem altogether strange, therefore, that certain departures from the Greek form of the metres in question should be connected with their introduction into that form of early Latin literature with which we are best acquainted. And indeed, in addition to what appears to be the influence of a Latin stress-accent, there is the neglect of the quantity in the inner theses¹ of the iambic and trochaic dipody; and both of these deviations from the model have seemed so natural in the early comic poets, and apparently due to such evident causes, that little effort has been made to go beneath the surface for an explanation.

I.

In a general way, we may say that a verse is produced by the alternation of syllables having prominence with syllables lacking prominence. It goes without saying that a syllable having prominence in poetry has prominence also in the ordinary pro-

¹ By theses are meant the weak parts of the verse, those which do not have the ictus.

nunciation of the word in prose, and that a syllable having or lacking prominence elsewhere must have or lack it also when employed in poetry. To the extent, then, to which the syllable having the accent coincides with the arsis in early Latin verse, this fact of coincidence itself might furnish a presumption that the syllable mentioned had a prominence by virtue of the accent. This presumption is, however, greatly weakened by even a slight acquaintance with the facts of the verse itself. For it appears very clearly that, whatever may be the part played by the accent, this class of verse is constructed according to quantity, and that while long syllables without the accent are found in the arsis in practically every line, single short syllables which have the accent are never found there. In other words, while the quantity always prevails over the accent, the accent never prevails over the quantity and has clearly no independent force to make itself felt in the verse apart from the quantity. It remains therefore to consider whether the accent played the part of a general reinforcing stress which, when added to a syllable of long quantity, made the prominence of this syllable all the more marked, and when added to a short syllable, partly raised it also out of the obscurity to which its quantity alone would have condemned it—for this is the only kind of accent-stress that can with any probability have played a part in early Latin verse.

If we examine an early Latin verse, say an iambic senarius, we must needs take as our starting-point the fact that upon its first introduction into Latin, this verse can only have been a copy from the iambic trimeter of the Greek drama. Considering it as a copy, we find a flagrant violation of quantity in certain parts. While in the arses and the last thesis the quantity practically does not depart from that of the model, we find it quite generally disregarded in the other two theses which were kept pure in Greek, namely the second and the fourth. This disregard of quantity can not be due to absolute uncertainty of the quantity in Latin words, for the same syllables which are wrongly used in the theses, are practically always used correctly in the arses. Nor, on the other hand, does this disregard of quantity arise from utter indifference to the distinctions between the two kinds of theses, for the last thesis is always pure in Latin, no less than in Greek, and among the other theses also there is, even in early Latin, a very considerable variation in the proportion of long and short syllables which they contain. This is clear from a

count of the theses—resolutions being omitted—of the 553 iambic senarii of the Trinummus, which yields the following result:

Number of thesis	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
long syllables	327	283	403	310	436	0
short syllables	<u>72</u>	<u>202</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>188</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>553</u>
percentage of shorts	18+	42—	24—	38—	12—	100

It will be seen that the percentage of short syllables in the second and fourth theses, which were always short in Greek, is much larger than it is in the first, third and fifth. Much the same proportion holds for all the early dramatists, comic as well as tragic, though in the more careful writers, like Ennius and Terence, the percentage of short syllables in the theses of the second and the fourth foot is somewhat greater than in other writers. To be sure, by the time of Ennius and Terence, and especially with the writers of *togatae* and *praetextatae*, the peculiarities of the iambic and trochaic verse of the drama were no longer due so much to incorrect copying of Greek verse, as they were due to correct adherence to the forms established by Roman predecessors. But with the first writers of Latin iambic and trochaic verse it was a different matter. They are to be held responsible for setting the precedent and creating the type.

But why was it that these first Roman playwrights did not reproduce the metres of their originals more accurately? There are two possible answers: 1. They may have had an imperfect mental image of the form of the verse, when they set about to reproduce it; 2. They may have experienced difficulties from the crude and unsuitable nature of the language in which they tried to reproduce their mental image of the model, the image itself being perfect. The facts seem to indicate that the peculiarities of early Latin verse were the result of a combination of these two conditions.

It is evident from the structure of early Latin metre, that the writer's mental image of the quantity of the different syllables in the Greek models was not equally clear for all parts of the verse. In the case of the iambic trimeter he must have been distinctly conscious of the nature of the arses and the last thesis, but much more vaguely conscious of the nature of the other theses. This can only have been due to the fact that the attention rested more directly upon the arses and the last thesis of the Greek verse.

And in again giving outward form to such a mental image, in which some parts were vague and others were distinct, it is but natural that the attention was again fixed upon the distinct parts and that they were more correctly reproduced as to quantity than the others.

In this way we might account in a simple manner for a neglect of some of the theses. But, at the same time, it is hard to imagine that the writers in question would have written such faulty theses if they had attempted to reproduce the verses in Greek instead of Latin. At least none of those who actually wrote Greek dramas ever allowed himself such a neglect of quantity. It would seem then, that after all the most indispensable factor in the explanation of the peculiarities of early Latin dramatic verse was the condition of the Latin language. But it was not the only factor, as appears from what has already been mentioned, namely that the Roman dramatist could on occasion be quite as accurate in quantity in the Latin verse, as the Greek dramatist was in the Greek verse. The certain thing is that this accuracy was possible in Latin only in those parts of the verse whose precise quantitative character was clearly marked in the writer's mental image.

The most important thing, however, is still to be considered. That the early Roman writers were more clearly conscious of the quantity employed in Greek, and to be employed in Latin, in some parts of the verse than in others, has just been shown from the way in which they universally treated the different parts. If we look at these parts a little more closely, we shall find some other interesting facts. We find that while the quantity is carefully observed in the first five arses and in the last thesis of the Latin senarius, there are two places among this number where the metrical treatment is unusually strict. These are the last thesis and the fifth arsis, immediately preceding it.¹ Of these two, as is well known, the last thesis is the only thesis whose quantity is absolutely pure in early Latin. In addition to being pure, this thesis is almost entirely free also from resolution, and altogether free from the irregularities that attend resolution, "semi-hiatus" and "iambic shortening." The fifth arsis has resolution much less frequently than the other arses, does not have the "semi-hiatus", nor does it allow the two syllables of its resolution to

¹ The syllables referred to are the two marked "a" in the following line:

u - u - u - u - u - - a a -.

stand in two separate words, and the cases of "iambic shortening" found in it are extremely rare.

Upon further investigation we find also that the accented syllable of words has a strong tendency to drift to those positions in the verse where we find the quantity accurately observed. So while it is a well-known fact that the accented syllable stands in the arses with unusual frequency in early Latin, it is also true that many more accented syllables are found in the last thesis than in any of the other theses. A count of the senarii of the Trinummus gives the following result:

Number of thesis	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Accented syllables	143	47	37	69	177	246

These facts and figures should positively prove one thing about the accented syllable, namely that if it had a stress, this stress did not, as such, have the slightest influence upon the form of these early Latin verses. The only way in which such a stress-influence could manifest itself would be in a coincidence of the accented syllables with the arses. And it would, of course, also be true that if there was an accent-stress which gave the accented syllable greater prominence by resting upon it, as the theory of accentual influence must assume, the recognition of this greater prominence by the writer, or in other words, the extent of coincidence of the accented syllable with the arsis, would be greatest wherever the difference between an arsis and a preceding or following thesis was clearest and most decisive in the writer's mental image of the verse. For there, if anywhere, it would be natural for the writer to attempt to concentrate all possible prominence to be found in words, whether of quantity or of accent, upon the unusually prominent part of the verse, the arsis, and to remove it from the thesis.

Just such a case we have found in the fifth arsis of the senarius and the following thesis. The vigorous effort made by the writer to preserve clearly the distinction in quantity between these two parts of the verse, is sufficiently evident from the reluctance, already noticed, with which anything but a single short is admitted to the thesis, or a single long to the arsis. But unfortunately for the theory of accentual influence, while the quantity, which every one accepts at least as the primary principle of structure, shows beyond a doubt the rhythmical effort made at this point in the verse toward a decisive distinction

between the two syllables, the accent not only fails to support this effort, but runs directly counter to it. For there is no arsis in the line which has fewer, and no thesis which has more accented syllables than those just referred to.

It is not possible to explain away this circumstance by saying that at the end of the verse there was necessarily a certain amount of conflict between arsis and accent which could not be so easily avoided there as in the middle of the verse. For, as a matter of fact, Plautus made hardly as much effort in his senarii to keep the accented syllables out of the last thesis, as Horace did in his trimeters, which was none at all. Of the 553 senarii of the *Trinummus*, 246 (44+%) have an accented syllable in the last thesis, and 288 (56-%) in the fifth arsis. In the 311 iambic trimeters of Horace's *Epodes* the number is 131 and 178 (42+ and 58-%) respectively. The completeness, on the other hand, with which the harmony of accent and ictus became established at the end of all iambic and trochaic verses in late Latin, in many cases without any neglect of quantity whatever, shows beyond a doubt that such a thing was at least possible.¹

The relation that actually does exist between the accented syllables and particular parts of the verse is rather this, that a close approach to purity, i. e. consistency in the use of quantity, at any place in the verse, goes hand in hand with a relatively large number of accented syllables in that place. With regard to the arses this proposition will be readily accepted, but it is a fact, and can easily be shown, that it is true no less of the theses. In comparing the different theses, however, with reference to the number of accented syllables found in them, it is manifestly unfair to include those of the second and of the third foot of the senarius, since the prevailing caesura practically ensures a final syllable for the thesis of the third foot, and thus prevents an accented syllable from standing there, while the same caesura also practically excludes the accented syllable from the thesis of the second foot, except only in the rare cases when a monosyllable stands immediately before this caesura.² But if we com-

¹ Full statistics of the relation between accent and arsis in late Latin are collected in the writer's dissertation, "The Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin" (Chicago, 1900).

² Exceptions may of course occur through the elision of final syllables.

pare the remaining theses with each other, we get the following results for the various early authors:¹

Number of verses.	I.		IV.		V.		VI.	
	% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.	% Short.	Number accented.
Naevius... 63	15+	19	37+	6	14+	18	100	24
Plautus (Trinummus) 553	18+	143	38—	69	12—	177	100	246
Ennius.... 99	18—	34	52+	13	18+	40	100	36
Pacuvius .. 141	19+	34	41—	11	13+	57	100	58
Terence (Phormio) 617	19+	136	39+	79	10+	178	100	278
Accius.... 284	16—	77	35+	23	6+	145	100	114
Afranius .. 194	15+	40	43—	16	12—	53	100	78
Total.....1951	18+	483	39+	217	11—	668	100	834

This table shows not only for early Latin verse in general, but for all the authors individually—the only exception is the sixth as compared with the fifth foot in Ennius and Accius—that the relation between the number of accented syllables and the degree

¹As has been mentioned before, all resolutions have, for present purposes, been left entirely out of account as tending to obscure the actual relation between long and short syllables. The percentages in the table given above are therefore not percentages of the total number of verses, but of the sum of all single long and short syllables found in that particular part of the verse. The actual number of longs and shorts found in the four theses under discussion is:

Number of verses.	I.		IV.		V.		VI.	
	Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.	Long.	Short.
Naevius... 63	45	8	39	23	48	8		63
Plautus (Trinummus) 553	327	72	310	188	436	58		553
Ennius.... 99	73	16	46	50	77	17		99
Pacuvius .. 141	97	23	79	54	112	17		141
Terence (Phormio) 617	367	88	360	232	506	57		617
Accius.... 284	186	33	173	95	257	17		284
Afranius .. 194	135	24	110	82	136	18		194
Total.....1951	1230	262	1117	724	1572	192		9151

of quantitative consistency in a particular part of the verse is universal and positive. We find the smallest number of accented syllables (217) in the fourth thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 39+ to 61—. The number of accented syllables is more than twice as high (483) in the first thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 18+ to 82—. The number is still higher (668) in the fifth thesis, where the proportion of short to long is as 11— to 89+. But it is highest of all (834) in the sixth thesis, where the same quantity is found without any variation whatever.

In looking for the significance of these figures, we must remember that those who first composed Greek metres in Latin, did not find in the latter language conditions quite so simple as those which existed later, when the influence of Greek rules of prosody had, for purposes of poetry, reduced all differences between syllables in Latin to a single one, that between long and short. The language-material which the first dramatic writers in Latin must needs employ in writing their comedies was the colloquial idiom, whose daily usage in any tongue presents almost innumerable shades of quantity, not to mention pitch and stress. And not only must the grades of prominence have been many, but we are also aware that a given syllable of a word does not even under all conditions have a uniform value in speech. Under circumstances like these, even the slightest indication of a preference of a particular syllable for a special purpose must be important, and when there is a decided tendency, such as we noticed in the case of accented syllables, both long and short, to gravitate toward certain parts of the verse having a common characteristic, we are surely justified in laying great emphasis upon this fact, and in seeing a close relation between the accent and the peculiar characteristic common to these parts of the verse.

Making verse, generally speaking, consists in making such an arrangement of the available sound-units, or syllables, of the language, that the latter come to stand in series in which a certain distinctive characteristic possessed by some syllables recurs at definite intervals, and in which the syllables possessing this distinction alternate with syllables which, to a greater or less extent, do not possess it. But unless a new verse-form is being invented, the exact nature of the series thus to be produced is already present as a verse-image in the writer's mind. For

practical purposes, therefore, verse-making is merely an adapting of the characteristics of speech to the peculiarities of this mental verse-image. So we are certain in saying that the main characteristic of the verse-images of the first Latin dramatists, which they received from the Greek models, was the alternation of long and short elements, and we find it natural that these writers should have employed those syllables of the Latin language at any particular place in the verse, which in Latin speech were found to possess the qualities that agreed with the peculiarities of the mental image of the verse in that place¹. In addition to mere differences in quantity, we found further that there must have been differences between one part of this verse-image and another, in the clearness and definiteness with which the mind realized the particular quantity required, whether long or short. So the last thesis in the mental image of the iambic trimeter must have been distinctly short, and the first five arses quite as distinctly long, while the other theses, as well as the last arsis, upon which the attention of the ear had not rested so directly, were in the mental image more vaguely defined as to their quantity.

Now, if the accented syllable was used by preference for those parts of the verse whose quantity was clearly defined in the verse-image, there is one sure conclusion which we can draw as to the character of the accented syllable, namely that its quantity, whether long or short, was more definitely and clearly realized in the mental image of the word than the quantity of the other syllables. And in the word as in the verse, this superior clearness must have been due to the fact that the accented syllable for some reason had the attention resting upon it more directly, that it was, we might say, the center of attention in the word.

¹ With regard to the accentual hexameters in English, which will occur to one in this connection, it may be well to say that the verse-image of the ancient hexameter existing in the minds of the modern poets in question, had, no doubt, as its main characteristic, a much too vigorous stress of the ictus, such a one as they acquired when they learned to scan their "*arma virúmque canó*." But even when it is possible for an English poet to divest himself entirely of his peculiar training in Latin and of the metrical practice of his own language, it will still be found that any imitation, in English, of Latin or Greek metres will be accentual as well as quantitative. This is necessarily the case, since the accent practically monopolizes long quantity in English words. For illustration compare the alcaics and hendecasyllabics of Tennyson.

But that the accented syllable did not have the quality of stress to any appreciable degree is, aside from the conclusive fact of its preference for the pure thesis in Latin, shown by the further fact that it did not cripple the other syllables of the word. So far from robbing them of length, or of all vocal character whatsoever, as is so often the case in English, the quantity of the unaccented syllables in early Latin became, with the exception of a few word-endings, quite as clear and definite as that of the accented syllables, whenever these unaccented syllables stood in the arses or in the last thesis, and were thus for the time brought directly under the attention.¹

¹The chief arguments that have been advanced for a stress-accent in this connection, are drawn from the phenomena of "vowel-weakening" and syncope.

"Vowel-weakening."—The former of these, by which is meant the change, for example, of a short *a* to a short *i* when a word receives a prefix, as *facio*, *efficio*, appears to have come about mainly in prehistoric times, and must, therefore, be handled with care. This much is true, however, that a stress-accent could contribute to bringing about this change only in case it fell on the syllable before or the syllable after the one affected, for if the accent fell on the so-called "weakened" syllable itself, it would clearly be adding weakness to the syllable instead of strength, and could therefore not be looked upon as a stress-accent. As a matter of fact, no distinction of this kind exists between the syllables of the word. The "weakening" occurs with much the same frequency in the accented syllable as in the others. To maintain the theory, therefore, it has been necessary to take refuge in the assumption of a prehistoric accent on the first syllable of the word.

But even if we allow this assumption, it is difficult to see how a stress-accent could have the effect which is claimed for it. For the "weakening," as it actually occurs, is universally a change from a vowel of lower to one of higher pitch (*ē* to *ī*, *ā* to *ī* or *ē*, *au* to *ū*, &c), and not a change from long to short, for example (*au* becomes *ū*, not *ā*; *ae* becomes *ī*, not *ē*). Now, a change from long to short might be true evidence of a neighboring stress-accent, (cf. our customary pronunciation *amābimus*); but no one would wish to maintain that an unstressed syllable is naturally pronounced at a higher pitch.

A much more plausible explanation may at least be suggested. The changes just mentioned occur when the word is lengthened, by a prefix or otherwise, as *facio*, *efficio*; *cano*, *cecini*; *carmen*, *carminis*. This additional syllable is of course an additional draft upon the air-reserve in the lungs. To make the air-reserve hold out under the changed conditions, an unconscious and automatic adjustment naturally takes place, of a kind that will neutralize the extra demand. This adjustment consists in the contraction of the vocal passage, so as to let less breath escape in a given time. And this contraction in itself means a sound of higher pitch.

Syncope.—If we turn to the argument for a stress-accent which is drawn from the syncope of short inter-consonantal vowels, as for instance, *viridis* for *viridis*,

On the other hand it is easy to see that the clearness of the accented syllable has a reality apart from those verse-positions which lay directly under the attention. For in the second and fourth theses of the senarius the accented syllable much more nearly preserves the purity which these theses have in Greek,

we find one of the strongest single arguments that can be made for the theory that the Latin accent was stress. For in spite of exceptional cases like *pueritiae* for *pueritiae*, *viglias* for *vigilias*, the syncopation occurs, for all practical purposes, only in the unaccented syllables. Here we have at least something which, we must confess, could come about through stress of the accent.

If we look more closely, however, we are met at the very outset by the fact that while syncopation of short syllables is of common occurrence throughout the history of the language, the reduction of long vowels to short ones, with the exception of a few final syllables, where it is due to other causes, as we shall see, is not common. Surely, it is even more natural to expect the unaccented long syllables to become short, than to expect the unaccented short syllables to disappear altogether. Our own customary pronunciation, in which we certainly stress the accented syllable, will illustrate. We can hardly help saying *amābimus* instead of *amābimus*, but we never say *valdus* instead of *validus*, nor *frigidus* instead of *frigidus*. If then the accent did not have the more natural result to be expected from a stress, the less natural result was in all probability not due to it either, but to some other cause.

It is evident from ancient testimony that the syncopated and unsyncopated forms of words were often current side by side. The question of the comparative merit of the two forms seems to have been a subject of discussion. Cf. the preference of Augustus for *caldum* (Quint. I 6, 19), which grammarians condemn as a barbarism. The trouble must have been caused by the actual pronunciation of the words, and the explanation would seem to be about as follows.

The pronunciation of consonants in Latin, as we know, was much more distinct than it is in English. When two consonants stood together in a word, and both of them were pronounced with their full individual sound, it was impossible, except in cases where these consonants merged readily into each other, to avoid a slight intervening vowel sound in passing from one to the other. This "parasitic" vowel sound in some cases found its way into the spelling of the Latin words, especially as *i* or *u*, while in other cases it remained unwritten. But whether written or unwritten, this sound must have been more or less distinctly heard, in good as well as careless pronunciation, and we know, from the attention given to the subject by the grammarians, that it was a source of constant trouble to the schoolmaster. And well it might be, for in addition to these "parasitic" vowels, there were numerous other short vowels with a good legal right to their place, which were represented by the same letters as the "parasitic" vowels and, as this fact shows, did not differ materially from them in pronunciation. By the average man these two classes of short vowel sounds would, under such circumstances, naturally be treated alike, i. e. while some would perhaps be pronounced more, and others less distinctly, and some, as the inscriptions show, were certainly written, and

than do other syllables of the word. The senarii of the Trinummi show the following distribution of syllables in the theses:

Accented:	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
Long,	105	16	28	24	173	
Short,	38	31	9	45	4	246
Before the accent:						
Long,	78	94	38	69	66	
Short,	26	94	25	30	22	
Final:						
Long,		101	275	159	135	
Short,		46	76	51	31	13

If we add together the three outer theses (I, III and V), whose quantity is undetermined in Greek, we have

	Long.	Short.	% Short.
Accented,	306	51	14 +
Before the accent,	184	73	29 —
Final,	410	107	21 —

others were not, this distinction would, in the nature of the case, be made without any reference to the origin of the vowels, and would therefore not be the same in all cases and at all times. Even the scholar must have had his difficulties, with no rule but past practice in spelling and the occasional analogy of a Greek word to guide him. Even in our own day, with Sanskrit and the mass of other comparative material, it does not seem possible, in very many cases, to establish anything beyond the general fact of the confusion.

That this confusion could more easily arise in unaccented syllables than in accented ones is plain, if the latter, as was certainly the case, possessed a certain distinction among the syllables of the word, which served to give them more of the speaker's attention and thus tended to preserve their peculiar vocal character much more faithfully than that of the syllables which did not enjoy the speaker's attention to the same degree. But even if we leave this out of account altogether, a confusion between parasitic and other short vowels in the accented syllable was almost impossible for the reason that the parasitic vowel hardly ever came to stand in the accented syllable. In any individual word, an accent on a parasitic vowel is possible only on the supposition that the accent had previously stood on the vacant interval between the two consonants where the vowel in question arose. It is, of course, possible to think of such a syllable coming by the accent by chance, when the accent is shifted through changes in the end of the word, due to declension or conjugation. But when the parasitic vowel has once become fixed to the extent that it maintains itself under the changes described, it is, for all practical purposes, no longer a parasitic vowel at all, but a fixed and recognized part of the word, at least so far as the individual speaker or writer is concerned.

If we add the two theses (II and IV) which are pure in Greek but not in Latin, we have

	Long.	Short.	% Short.
Accented,	40	76	66 —
Before the accent,	163	124	43 +
Final,	260	97	27 +

Our conclusion, then, for the character of the accented syllable in Latin, so far as the early verse is concerned, would be that there was no stress upon it of any appreciable force, that is, none that was strong enough to have an influence upon the metrical structure, but that the quantity of the accented syllable was nevertheless more stable, i. e., more clearly defined in the mental image of the word, than the quantity of the other syllables, or in other words, that the accented syllable, for some reason and to some extent, was the center of attention in the word.¹

II.

It remains to see whether we can find out how this syllable could come to occupy the center of consciousness, even though, aside from a possible long quantity, it had no other appreciable strength or stress in pronunciation, which could have served to direct attention to it.

What impresses us most about the Latin accent is the unvaried monotony of its position. It can not stand on the final syllable,² nor more than a certain limited distance from it. It does not fall upon a syllable of special significance, because of its significance, but accidentally, if at all. In fact, it possesses no individuality whatever, but is shifted from one of its two places to the other by the chance of length or brevity. This whole condition of things strikes us as thoroughly mechanical. We might almost suspect that it was the invention of some enterprising pedagogue, if it were not that the unanimity and universality in the treatment of the subject by the Latin grammarians,

¹ If the quantity in proper names is less carefully observed than in other words, this is to some extent due, no doubt, to the frequent necessity of fitting them into a metre which is not suited to receive them. But it must not be forgotten, that the pronunciation of proper names is, in itself, in daily practice, subject to much greater variations and irregularities than the pronunciation of other words.

² Cases like "illíc", "addúc", &c., can of course hardly count as exceptions.

and their comparison of the position of the Latin accent with that of Greek, lead us to believe that the accent in Latin must be a matter of some importance. At the same time the wide and careful treatment accorded to the rules for the place of the Latin accent, in spite of their great simplicity, suggests that its position was far from being at all times and unmistakably marked by a distinguishing characteristic of pronunciation. We are compelled, therefore, by the testimony of the grammarians, as well as by that of early metres, to be prepared to take account of even the slightest indications that may lead us to a conclusion.

Of one thing we may be sure as a beginning, namely, that the accent has some sort of connection with the end of the word. If now we take as our starting-point the difference in definiteness of quantity which the structure of early verse led us to assume between the accented syllable and other syllables of the word, we readily see that the final syllable, or syllables, of an inflected word must necessarily leave a less definite and stable impression on the mind, owing to the changes which inflection makes them undergo in form and quantity. It can not be objected to this statement that the inflectional endings, representing, as they do, distinctions of person, number, &c., must consequently be distinct and even prominent in pronunciation. For these endings, the personal endings in verbs, for instance, are not used to point a distinction at all. An unemphatic "we", as in "we heard the explosion", is expressed in Latin by the ending "-mus", but when a real distinction of persons is to be made, as for example between "we" and "you", the ending does not suffice in Latin, but separate words "nos" and "vos" are employed.

But in addition to this the final syllables of a word are subject to still further conditions that constantly tend to weaken them as compared with the other syllables. If a word is pronounced by itself, or if it stands before a full pause at the end of a clause or sentence, with very few exceptions the end of this word naturally suffers not only a decided decline of pitch, but, in a smaller degree, of vocal effort in general, and hence of vigor and length. In the exertion which is put forth to pronounce the words and syllables of the sentence, and especially in the tension of the vocal chords which this pronunciation involves, the pause at the end is anticipated, as it were, by a gradual descent of the last word.

It is natural that this descent should begin after the last

prominent syllable preceding the end of the word. Such a prominent syllable would, in a Latin word, be the last long preceding the final syllable, when there is such a long. Thus in "produco" or "praefectum", the decline itself would involve only the last syllable; in "praefeceras" it would affect the last two syllables. If there are no long syllables preceding the final, the descent would of course have to occur the same as in other words, but we can easily see how there might then be a wavering as to the precise *short* syllable which was to mark the beginning of the decline. If the doctrine of "two shorts equal to a long" was not a pure fiction, a word like "dederas" would offer somewhat the same conditions for the descent as "duco", "familiam" would correspond somewhat to "feceram." Still, at the same time, the mere number of syllables would have its influence, and the fact that in words like "produco" and "praefeceram" there could be no sort of doubt as to the number of syllables that shared in the descent, must have had the effect of setting up such words as the types, to which other words in which there might be more or less doubt, because they had no long syllables in the two places before the final, would naturally come to conform. And if we wish to draw conclusions from a comparison of the Plautine scansion of words like "familiam" and "facilius" and the iron-clad "three syllable" rule of the later grammarians, we may say that the "three syllable" tendency finally prevailed over the other.

But while the last syllable or syllables of a Latin word suffered the decline mentioned, when the word was pronounced by itself or before a pause, they did not, of course, suffer such a decline when they stood closely before other words in the same sentence. In the latter case there was probably no very appreciable prominence of one syllable over another, except such prominence as the syllable may have possessed through its long quantity and what that brings in its train. This is clearly shown by the Latin grammarians in their rules for the pronunciation of a word which may be used either as a preposition or as an adverb. When a preposition stands before its case, we read,¹ it has no accent, but when it stands alone or, in other words, when it is used as an adverb, it has the accent on the usual syllable. Some gram-

¹The passages of the grammarians are collected in Schoell, *De accentu linguae latinae*, p. 179 ff.

marians¹ go so far as to say that prepositions before their nouns have the accent on the last syllable, as "*circúm litora*", but this statement is, no doubt, due only to the half-conscious effort to emphasize a distinction between the prepositional and adverbial pronunciation of the word.² Such statements can easily be duplicated from certain elementary grammars of the French language, which assert that French words always have the accent on the final syllable. The grammarian Pompeius gives us the true state of affairs when, with his habitual frankness, he says (Keil V, p. 130 (or 131): "*nam quando dicimus *poné* (ultimam habere accentum), non ideo dicimus, quia sic debet dici, sed ut sit discretio.*" Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* I 5, 25-29.

In considering this matter, we must not lose sight of the fact that when a grammarian set about to pronounce a word to himself or, which amounts to the same thing, when he imagined a word pronounced, for the purpose of discovering its accented syllable, this pronunciation, or imagined pronunciation, would almost inevitably have the falling inflection, that is, it would be the pronunciation which prevails at the end, not that which prevails in the body of the sentence. When a word, however, was used either as a preposition or as an adverb, the natural mode of procedure in determining the place of the accent for each, would be to think of the adverb as a separate word, and, by way of distinction, to pronounce or think of the preposition together with its object. How natural it is to do this, an unprejudiced effort on our own part, to discover, in English, a possible difference in pronunciation between "before", the adverb, and "before", the preposition, will clearly show.

There is another point, however, which must be carefully considered. While, generally speaking, it is certainly natural to pronounce a word individually and with the falling inflection, when we wish to get it before our mind's eye for inspection, it is no less true that the total experience which we have had in the use of a particular word, has produced a composite image of that word in our minds, and that it is this composite mental image which, disturbing factors aside, must, to some extent at least, determine our actual pronunciation of the word. Now, in

¹ Schoell, p. 177, 178.

² Schoell, p. 127 ff., "*Causa discretionis*", "*necessitas separandi*", "*ratio distinguendi*", "*ne confusibilitas aliqua nascatur.*"

the formation of this composite image, the peculiar pronunciation of a word before a pause will, of course, have its share. In other words, the normal pronunciation of a word will necessarily show some traces of the pronunciation which it has at the end of the sentence, where the last syllable or two are depressed. Or we may say that a word frequently used at the end of the sentence will, generally speaking, show a greater difference between the pronunciation of the final syllables and that of the accented syllable than one which is rarely or never used in that position.

This makes it quite clear, too, why not only prepositions, but also conjunctions are sometimes represented by the grammarians as having no accent.¹ For, like prepositions, these words naturally do not stand before a pause, and their normal pronunciation can not, therefore, show any sort of permanent distinction between an "accented" syllable and the syllable or syllables following it. As the ends of these words are never made to suffer a decline, the composite mental image will, in their case, have no element in it that will tend in any way to fix the attention upon that syllable which immediately precedes the final syllables, which in most words do suffer a decline, in such a way as to lead the grammarians to speak of an "accented" syllable in special terms.²

Now, to understand exactly what is the nature of this distinction of the accented syllable we must realize clearly what the depression before a pause means for that syllable. We may accomplish this in a rough way, if in a word, "procuratoribus", for instance, we imagine the last two syllables depressed, as they would be before a pause, and then represent the individual syllables by upright lines of a height corresponding to their individual prominence. Then we may draw an oblique line from the upper end of the vertical line that stands for "-bus" to the upper end of the line that stands for "pro-", to represent the ground level of the word. We shall then find that the upright line representing the syllable "tor" projects highest above the oblique line, even though taken in its full length, as representing the *absolute* prominence of this

¹ For the passages see Schoell, *De acc.*, p. 194 ff.

² The slighting of the syllable which, according to the rule, should have the accent, in words like *inde*, *unde*, *nempe* perhaps furnishes an illustration of this principle in early verse. The scansion of the forms of *ille* and *iste* in early verse may also be mentioned in this connection, for they are likewise words that practically never stand at the end of a sentence and, on the other hand, generally stand directly before other words.

syllable, the same upright line is no higher than the lines which stand for the syllables preceding it. It is this *relative* prominence of the "accented" syllable which will, as we saw, necessarily form part of the vocal associations of every word which may at any time stand in a position that involves such a depression of the final syllables as that of which we have spoken.

Just how much the normal pronunciation of a word (by which we mean the exact reproduction by the voice of the composite mental image of the word) will be affected by the peculiarities of its pronunciation before a pause, is a point not so easy to determine. We may perhaps be sure of this, however, that the various distinctive qualities of the accented syllable will be the same in kind and relative importance as compared with each other, in the normal pronunciation as they are in the pronunciation at the end of a sentence, but that these qualities will of course all be far less prominent in the former pronunciation than in the latter.

If we consider the matter in this light for a little while, it may appear to us that perhaps the Latin grammarians, from Varro on, do not deserve all the abuse for stupidity and lack of independence, which is so freely heaped upon them by our treatises and chapters on the Latin accent. It is a well-known fact that these grammarians almost unanimously describe the accented syllable in Latin by saying that it is higher in pitch than the others. This piece of evidence contemporary philology derives from Greek sources, without stopping to think that the only natural thing for a person to do, when considering the accent of two languages, is to conceive of the accent of the one with which he is less familiar in terms of the one with which he is more familiar, and not "vice versa," and further, that those men who counted for much and were used as authorities, were after all, for the most part, Romans, and not Greeks.

Now, if we observe the way in which the voice falls off at the end of a sentence, we will discover that by far the most prominent and easily detected change is precisely the change in pitch. And if this is true in the English language, in which difference of stress is without question the chief element of rhythm, and in which therefore a decline of stress would seem to be the natural method of anticipating a pause at the end of the sentence, we may feel quite confident that decline in pitch was the prominent element in the falling inflection in Latin also, and that the grammarians who fixed the rules of Latin pronunciation, were probably guided

by Latin words, and not by Greek rules, when in one chapter they point out the difference between the place of the accent in Latin and in Greek, and in the next chapter tell us that the Latin accent was elevation of pitch.¹

So far as metre is concerned, to be sure, a pitch accent, i. e. a relatively higher pitch in a particular syllable, is of very little consequence. For within the ordinary range of pitch employed by a person when speaking, there is no very appreciable difference between the exertion required to pronounce the high, and that required to pronounce the low syllables, at least the difference is very slight when compared, for instance, with the difference in the effort put forth to pronounce syllables of long and syllables of short quantity. Hence we may say that, so far as any influence upon the rhythm of verse is concerned, a pitch-accent is a factor which may be neglected, as we actually find it apparently playing no part whatever in Greek metre. But while this is no doubt true, a relatively higher pitch in the pronunciation of a particular syllable in the word has nevertheless the effect of giving that syllable a distinctive character, of singling it out from its fellows. From the standpoint of the speaker this means nothing more than that the syllable in question is the center of attention in the word. We have then from this side reached the same conclusion as to the accented syllable, which we had reached previously from our study of early verse.

The same study of early verse, it will be recalled, led us to the conclusion that there was no accent-stress in Latin of sufficient

¹ Another charge of servility is brought against the Latin grammarians in the matter of the circumflex. It is easy to see, of course, that if the Latin accent was one of stress, a circumflex is a practical impossibility, since its very nature implies rise and fall in pitch.

Lindsay (Lat. Lang. p. 153) also finds fault with the distinction made by the grammarians between "*Rōma*" and "*Rōmae*", and argues that "the quantity of the final syllable is the chief factor in Greek accent, but not in Latin, where the quantity of the paenultima takes its place, so that one would not expect the accent of the first syllable of *Romā* to differ from that of *Romāe*." This criticism is based on the wording of the school grammar and is utterly unscientific. Why should not the character of the final syllable have an influence upon the accent as well as that of the penultimate? In the case of the falling inflection, which we have made the basis of our own explanation of the Latin accent, it surely does not seem strange that a single short final syllable, especially when preceded by a long, should be felt to be too slight to carry the descent of the sound, and that consequently this descent should involve the preceding syllable, entirely, if it is short, and the second half of it, if it is long.

importance to have an effect upon the structure of the metre. Indeed, if there is any yielding to accent-stress at all, it ought to appear especially at the ends of sentences where, as we have seen, the relative prominence of the accented syllable is certainly more positive than at any other place. But even in the cases where the end of the verse coincides with the end of the sentence in early Latin, it is not evident that there is any more decided preference for those endings in which ictus and accent fall together, than there is when the end of the verse stands in the middle of the sentence. The senarius, for instance, ends in an iambic word just as freely when this ending concludes a sentence, as when it does not. Even under those conditions, therefore, where we might fairly expect the influence of a possible stress-accent to be strongest, we do not notice any effect of such an influence upon the verse.

III.

It still remains to make an examination of those statements of the grammarians about the Latin accent, which appear to describe it as a more vigorous stress. We have already called attention to the fact that a grammarian's observations on the accent are almost necessarily based on the pronunciation of individual words, i. e. on the same pronunciation that the word has at the end of the sentence. We may therefore feel safe in assuming, as a general principle, that whatever these grammarians say about the accent, necessarily gives, if anything, an exaggerated estimate of the relative difference between the accented syllable and the rest of the word.

There are three different statements of Latin grammarians which define the accent in Latin as a greater stress in unmistakable terms. They are by Pompeius (Keil V 126-7), by Servius Honoratus (Keil IV 426) and in the Codex Bernensis 16 (*Anecdota Helvetica*, p. XLV 17 H),¹ and their language clearly shows that they all represent the same tradition. Of the Codex Bernensis we need not speak, for it belongs to the ninth century and the passage in question is evidently nothing more than the repetition of a few catch-words like "*anima verborum*", "*syllaba quae plus sonat*", "*accentus a cantu vocatus*."

The other two statements both occur in commentaries on Donatus, and their wording shows clearly enough that they

¹ Printed in Schöll, *De accentu*, p. 78.

amount to but a single one. They deserve special attention because, to prove that the accent is "louder sound", they both suggest a test which, in its simplicity and innocence, furnishes us with the neatest refutation of their own theory that we could wish for. Let us take the statement of Pompeius, the fuller of the two: "Ergo illa syllaba quae accentum habet, plus sonat, quasi habet maiorem potestatem. Et quomodo invenimus ipsum accentum? Et hoc traditum est. Sunt plerique qui naturaliter non habent acutas aures ad capiendos hos accentus et inducitur hac arte, finge tibi quasi vocem clamantis ad longe aliquem positum. Ut puta finge tibi aliquem illo loco contra stare et clama ad ipsum. Cum coeperis clamare, naturalis ratio exigit ut unam syllabam plus dicas a reliquis illius verbi, et quam videris plus sonare a ceteris, ipsa habet accentum."

Taken together with the detailed explanation of the simple rules for the place of the accent, which is everywhere given, this passage shows us that the position of the accented syllable was not easily recognized by the ear in ordinary speech. Especially does this seem to be true also of the alleged stress of the accent. To realize that the accented syllable actually "sounds louder", it is necessary to make it sound louder by shouting the word. For shouting consists, as everyone knows, not merely in louder utterance, but, more than that even, in concentration of effort upon certain words or syllables, which is, in its turn, a simple physical necessity due to the unusual exertion. That the effort should in such a case be concentrated upon the "accented" syllable, is of course perfectly natural, if that syllable was the center of attention; but that the word should have to be shouted in order to make the greater stress on the accented syllable apparent to the average ear, means, if it means anything, that in ordinary pronunciation, even of the single word spoken by itself with the falling inflection, to say nothing about the body of the sentence, this "stress" on the accented syllable was not thus apparent.

Now if these most positive and unmistakable statements on the side of the stress-accent make such a poor showing for it, we shall find it easier to refuse to this theory the benefit of the doubt in two other passages which are sometimes cited in favor of it, but whose meaning is not so evident. One is in Diomedes (Keil I 430) "accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa elatio orationis vocisve intentio vel inclinatio acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba." The description of the accent as "anima vocis", which is found a few

lines further on, strongly suggests a connection with the tradition "plus sonat", for in at least two of the statements of the latter the expressions "anima vocis" and "anima verborum" are used in the same way as in the passage from Diomedes. On the other hand, the fact that Diomedes says that the accent is *either* "elatio" or "intentio" seems to indicate that he, or his authority, did not feel it possible or necessary to decide between pitch and stress, and presumably, that he did not feel either to be so prominent as to compel him to state the fact. The other passage, from Cledonius (Keil V 31-2), "acutus qui cursim profertur, ut *arma*, excusso enim sono dicendum est; circumflexus qui tractim, ut *Roma*; gravis qui pressa voce habet accentum", has distinct references to quantity (cursim, tractim) and possibly to pitch (pressa voce), but "excusso sono", in which Seelmann (Ausspr. d. Lat., p. 28, 29) would see a reference to a stress-accent, can be clearly seen from the passage to be only a picturesque explanation of "cursim", as if the sound were to be got rid of as quickly as possible.

To return now from our somewhat lengthy digression, we may conclude from other sources of information about the accented syllable in Latin, as well as from the early metres, that there was no stress on it that could have been felt, to any extent, as a structural principle in early verse. On the other hand, the view toward which we were led by the peculiarities of early Latin verse, namely that the main difference between the accented syllable and the other syllables is that the former lay more directly under the attention, and was consequently more stable in quantity, is not contradicted, but rather upheld and strengthened by other pieces of evidence and other lines of reasoning as well.

IV.—A MARTYROLOGICAL FRAGMENT FROM JERUSALEM.

In describing the library of the Greek Convent of the Holy (properly the Most Holy) Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in 1889, Professor J. Rendel Harris mentioned a fragment of a Greek Martyrology, probably of the ninth century, and published nine lines of it.¹ While working in the same library, in the winter of 1900, I saw the manuscript and made a transcription of the better preserved side of it. Since my return my notes have been supplemented by some readings sent me by the accomplished librarian, Kleophas, the discoverer of the mosaic map at Madaba, and by photographs taken for me through the kindness of Professor C. W. Votaw of the University of Chicago.

The manuscript is a double leaf now measuring 32 by 25.5 *cm.* but doubtless larger originally, for at least one line and probably more are missing at the tops of the columns. The mutilated condition of the leaf is due to its having been used in the binding of a book, and the glue spread over one side of it in this process has left that side practically illegible. The leaf is inscribed in neat slightly decorated uncials of the later type, in single columns now of 32 lines each, but originally longer. In the library catalogue, the leaf appears under Marsaba 704, and is assigned to the eighth century, but Professor Harris favors the ninth. The parchment is lined in the usual indented way, the letters standing on the line, not depending from it. There are the usual abbreviations, $\overline{\chi\nu}$ $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\nu}$ $\overline{\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu}$ $\overline{\theta\nu}$, an imperfect punctuation, (high point, comma) breathings in the rectangular form, a few accents, —grave, acute, circumflex—and a single mutilated marginal capital at the top of the first recto. The diaeresis is used, though not uniformly, over initial *v*, and over *i* and *v* in diphthongs.

The manuscript came into the library of the Greek Convent of the Holy Sepulchre from the library of the Convent of Marsaba a few years ago, when Nicodemus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, united in the buildings of the Greek Convent of the Sepulchre the

¹ Haverford College Studies I (1889) p. 13.

libraries of the neighboring convents of Marsaba and the Holy Cross. The library further possesses a unique distinction in containing the famous *Codex Constantinopolitanus* in which Bryennius discovered the Didache, which was sent from the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople to the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, as being the seat of the Jerusalem Patriarchate to which the Constantinople Convent belongs.

It is not quite certain what the order of the pages is, but the character of its contents and the lower half of a large marginal capital at the top of it make it probable that the page beginning *καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ κτέ* comes first. At any rate, this capital and the contents of the first column make it very probable that it began a new martyrdom. The double leaf may easily have been the outer one of a quire of four, but the upper and lower margins having disappeared, no trace of a quire number can be found. If it was the outer leaf of the quire, at least 448 lines and probably more must have intervened between the end of recto 1 and the beginning of verso 2. Viewed thus the illegible side constitutes the first verso and the second recto of the fragment, while the lines here printed are chiefly from the first recto and the second verso.

I *Recto*.

- Κ
καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τῶν εἰδώλων
ἐκβακχεύων καὶ λυμε-
νόμενος τὰς τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) ἐκκλη-
5 σίας, δόγμα ἐκτίθεται εἰς πᾶ-
σαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ
τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν.
ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὖν ἔτι τ[[]]ῶν ἐκκλη-
σιῶν διαγουσῶν καὶ τῶν θε-
10 σμῶν συνήθως ἐπιτελουμέ-
νων, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει ὁ δι-
ωγμός. γραμμάτων γὰρ οὐ[ν]
καὶ προσταγμάτων κατ' αὐ-
τῶν καταφυτησάντων εἰς
15 τὴν οἰκουμένην θαρρῶν
τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀρχόν-
των δεινότητα ἀπέστειλεν
καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλαιῶν πόλεως

3 Ἰ. λυμαίνόμενος.

8 ω written over ο

14 Ἰ. καταφυτευσάντων.

18 There is an Ἑλεῖα mentioned in C. I. G. III. addl. 2561 b, l. 77; but that is a Cretan inscription.

- τὸ δόγμα περιέχων τὴν κέ-
 20 λευσιν ταύτην· βασιλεὺς με-
 γας Αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλιτι-
 ανὸς παντὸς λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους
 ἀνθ(ρώπων) φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν
 δεσπότης πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐννοῖ[κῶ]ς
 25 διακειμένοις περὶ τοὺς ἀη-
 τήτους θεοὺς· χαίρειν. Παρεγ-
 γνῶ ὑμῖν διὰ παντὸς πάση σπου-
 δῇ χρῆσασθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν θε-
 ῶν θεραπείαν καὶ εἰς εὐεργε-
 30 σίαν τοῦ ἐμοῦ κράτους· ἀνε-
 γείρειν τε τοὺς τῶν θεῶν
 θεραπείαν καὶ εἰς εὐεργεσίαν
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ κράτους ἀνεγείρειν

End of column?

I *Verso*.

- · · · ·
 δαττειθ . . . βου . . . λευο τοῦ
 ζῆν τοὺς ἀπειθομένους τῷ
 νεύματι τοῦ κράτους [ἐμοῦ]
 5 ἰς μυριάδας ἀργυρίου ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐμοῦ λαμ-
 βάνειν

Traces of 25 lines.

II *Recto*.

- · · · ·
 καὶ πρώτη τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν αὐ-
 τή. ἡρώτα δὲ αὐτοὺς, τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ
 αὐτῆς καὶ ποίας θρησκείας τυγ-
 5 χάνουσιν; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ

Traces of 27 lines.

II *Verso*.

- · · · ·
 πων καὶ ἦλθον ἐν πόλει Δυ[ρ]-
 ραχίῳ· καὶ εἰσελθόντες τὴν
 πύλιν τῆς πόλεως, εἶδον τὸν
 5 ἅγιον Ἀστείον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως κρεμάμε-
 νον ἐπὶ στ(αυ)ροῦ μέλιτι χρισμέ-
 νον καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ὑ-
 πὸ σφικῶν καὶ μυιῶν διὰ τὴν

19 *l.* περιέχων.

21 *l.* Διοκλητιανός.

32-33 *θεραπείαν*—*ἀνεγείρειν* by an error of the eye—homoioteleuton—are repeated from 29-31 above; hence the impossible τοὺς . . . *θεραπείαν*. Probably 32 should begin with *ναοὺς* or some such word.

II recto 2 The reference may be to the Church as the Bride of Christ.

- 10 πίστην τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ δοξάσαν-
τες τὸν θεὸν ἐμακάρισαν τὸν
ἅγιον· πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πόλις εἰδωλικὴν
ἐορτὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ Διονύσου ἐ-
πετέλει· ἐρωτηθέντες δὲ πα-
15 ρά τινος ταξ[ε]ώτου οἱ ἅγιοι
ὡμολόγησαν ἑαυτοὺς Χριστι-
ανούς εἶναι καὶ κρατήσαντες
αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον πρὸς τὸν ἀντί-
πατον Ἀγρικολάον· καὶ ἀναγ-
20 κασθέντες προσκυνῆσαι τῷ
Διονύσῳ, ὡμολόγησαν τῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ
πιστεύειν. καὶ τούτων βασι-
νισθέντων ἐνέβαλον εἰς πλοῖ-
ον καὶ ἐν τῷ . ασα . . . του . . .
25 μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου βυθίζουσιν
αὐτούς. ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τὰ τίμια
λείψανα ἅμα τοῦ πλοίου ἐκρί-
ψασα εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον ἄλλο-
να τοῦ κεραμέως ἐνθα οἱ κακοῦρ-
30 γοι ἀνηλίσκοντο, κατέχευσεν
τῇ ψάμμῳ. ἐτῶν δὲ ἐνενή[κο]ν-
τα παρελθόντων, ἐμφανίζον-
ται οἱ ἅγιοι τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ ἀρχι-

End of column?

The martyrology, at least in this part of it, evidently dealt with the persecution of Diocletian as experienced in the city of Elia (Aelia? τὴν Ἑλαιοῦν πόλιν); though later the scene shifts to Dyrrhachium. The fragment derives a good deal of interest from the fact that it purports to give the opening lines of Diocletian's famous First Edict against the Christians. Our knowledge of this edict, (the one of February 23, A. D. 303, as Lactantius fixes the date) has been confined to notices in Eusebius (H. E. 8:2:4) and Lactantius, neither of whom undertakes to give the text of the decree. Eusebius, who puts the date of its promulgation a few weeks later than Lactantius (March, H. E. 8:2:4; April, Mart. Pal. *in il.*), gives the substance of the edict as follows: τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προστάττοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους ἀτίμους, τοὺς δὲ ἐν οἰκετίαις, εἰ ἐπιμένοιεν τῇ τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ προθέσει, ἐλευθερίας στρεῖσθαι προαγορεύοντα.¹

7 l. κεχρισμένον. 9 l. σφεκῶν. 10 l. πίστιν. 12 ἡ συμφί. Corr. 28 l. ἄλωνα.

¹ Eusebius H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 8:2:4.

Now it seems probable, however many leaves intervened between verso I and recto II in the quire, that the same work is being continued; at least that must be the presumption. But on verso II capital punishment is being inflicted upon mere profession of Christianity; a condition not explicitly contemplated until the Fourth Edict of A. D. 304, which made Christianity a *religio illicita*.¹ The martyrdom of Asteius, the bishop, would of course be intelligible enough on the basis of the Second Edict, which prescribed that bishops be thrown into prison and subjected to every possible inducement to offer sacrifice. But the prompt arrest and execution of the band of Christians related in verso II, clearly presupposes the Fourth Edict. It seems probable, then, that the author of this martyrology followed the text of the First Edict with the text or purport of the three succeeding ones, before entering upon the martyrdoms themselves.

Upon the assumption that the two leaves belong to the same work, the closing lines of verso II afford a *terminus a quo* for the determination of its date. The writer seems about to say that the relics of the martyrs were found ninety years after. The martyrdom was then written not earlier than A. D. 394. How much later it is impossible to determine.

But the important problem here is not the date of the work but the authenticity of the edict. To have even the opening lines of Diocletian's missing First Edict against the Christians would be a matter of some importance, and to have the whole text of that edict would almost certainly clear up some obscure matters in Eusebius's report of it. The few lines preserved contain little more than the opening formula and the beginning of the preamble. The formula βασιλεὺς μέγας Αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς παντὸς λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους ἀνθρώπων φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν δεσπότης will afford the safest and most obvious ground for testing the authenticity of the decree. The decrees preserved in Eusebius, H. E. 8: 17: 3—the Revocation Edict of A. D. 311—and 9: 10: 7—the Toleration Edict of Maximin—fairly illustrate the imperial titles employed in such formal documents. The original Latin of the Revocation Edict is preserved in Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, ch. 34. In the Greek of Eusebius it begins thus: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμίνος, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος, Αἰγυπτιακὸς μέγιστος, Θεβαϊκὸς μέγιστος, Σαρματικὸς

¹ McGiffert, Eusebius, pp. 325, 344.

μέγιστος πεντάκις, Περσῶν μέγιστος δις, Καρπῶν μέγιστος ἑξάκις, Ἀρμενίων μέγιστος, Μήδων μέγιστος, Ἀδιαβηνῶν μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ εἰκοστὸν, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἑννεακαίδεκατον, ὑπατος τὸ ὄγδοον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνσταντῖνος, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πέμπτον, ὑπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐαλέριος Δικιννιανὸς, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον, ὑπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, ἐπαρχιώταις ἰδίους χαίρειν.¹ The second begins more simply: Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμῖνος, Γερμανικὸς, Σαρματικὸς, εὐσεβῆς, εὐτυχῆς, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός.²

It is quite intelligible that in quoting a decree in a literary work, considerable liberties should be taken in the matter of long titular formulas, which, if given *in extenso*, would weary the reader without serving any immediately useful purpose. While it is not impossible that our martyrologist may have given a faithful representation of the substance of the decree while reducing and distorting its opening formula till little of the original but the name of Diocletian remained, the evidence of the decree quoted and in general the whole feeling of the formula in the fragment are against the authenticity of the decree as here given, which rather recalls the oriental decrees quoted in the Old Testament³ than the more reserved and dignified formulas of Roman state papers. But the most convincing comparison is with the preamble of an edict of Diocletian himself, the famous *De Pretiis Rerum Venalium*. Of the numerous fragmentary copies of this monument, only one preserves the names and titles of the emperors and Caesars who issued it. This is the inscription brought from Egypt to Aix in Provence in 1807. Its opening lines, with the restorations of the editors of the *Corpus*, are as follows:

Imp. Caesar C. Aurel. Val. Diocletianus p. f. inv. Aug. po||nt.
max. Germ. max. VI Sarm. max. IIII Persic. max. II Britt. max.
Carpic. max. Armen. max. Medic. max. Adiabenic. max. trib. p.
XVIII coss. VII imp. XVIII p. p. procoss. et imp.
Caesar M. Aurel. Val. Maximianus p. f. inv. Aug. pont. max. Germ.
max. V Sarm. || max. IIII Persic. max. II Britt. max. Carpic.

¹ Eusebius, H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 8: 17: 3-5.

² Eusebius, H. E. (Ed. Heinichen, 1868) 9: 10: 7.

³ E. g., Daniel 4: 1.

max. Medic. max. Adiabenic. max. tri || b. p. XVII coss. VI
imp. XVII p. p. procoss. et Fla. Val. Constantius

Germ. max. II Sarm. max. II Persic. max. II Britt. max. *Carpic.*
max. Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adiaben. max. trib. p. VIII
coss. III nobil. Caes. et G. Val. Maximianus

Germ. max. II Sarm. || *max. II Persic. max. II Britt. max.*
Carpic. max. Armenic. max. Medic. max. Adia || b. max. trib.
p. VIII coss. III nobil. Caes. dicunt.¹

The suspicion thus thrown upon the historical character of the decree is increased by the representation in the closing lines, of the saints revealing to some arch[bishop?] the hiding place of the martyrs' relics. Its claims to being considered historical are thus probably no greater than those of the mass of works of that golden age of martyrologists, the fifth to the eighth centuries, and it is among these that the Jerusalem fragment must claim a place.

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¹ C. I. L. III, 802, 824.

PLATO'S TESTIMONY TO QUANTITY AND ACCENT.¹

It is commonly held among classical students that word-accent was originally designated by the terms *προσφῳδία* and *ἁρμονία*, and that, as technical expressions, these words, together with *μῆκος* for quantitative *length*, appear first in Plato. In proof of this theory two passages are adduced: Rep. iii. 399 A, and Crat. 416 B.

To begin with Rep. 399 A, after discussing with Glaukon the various *ἁρμονίαι* or modes (keys) of music, Socrates proceeds: οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰς ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ κατάλειπε ἐκείνην τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἣ ἐν τε πολεμικῇ πράξει ὄντος (ὄντως?) ἀνδρείου καὶ ἐν πάσῃ βιαίῳ ἐργασίᾳ πρεπόντως ἂν μιμήσαιο φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφῳδίας, καὶ ἀποτυχόντος ἢ εἰς τραύματα ἢ εἰς θανάτους ἰόντος ἢ εἰς τινα ἄλλην συμφορὰν πεσόντος, ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις παρατεταγμένως καὶ καρτερούντως ἀμυνομένου τὴν τύχην.—which passage is thus Englished: "I know not, said I, the harmonies; only see you leave me that particular harmony which will suitably represent *the tones and accents* of a brave man engaged in a feat of arms or in any violent operation [Jowett: '*the note or accent* which a brave man utters in the hour of danger and stern resolve']; who, if he fails of success, or encounters wounds and death, or falls into any other calamity: in all such contingencies with unflinching endurance parries the blows of fortune". (D. J. Vaughan).

Now can we ever believe that in classical Greece a brave man, (*ἀνδρεῖος*), engaged in a hard struggle, really uttered *φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφῳδίας*, "tones and accents", or "notes and accents"? The absurdity here lies of course not in the term *φθόγγοι* which means 'sounds', and occurs frequently in Plato, but in *προσφῳδαί*, which occurs here only in Plato. But *προσφῳδαί* here cannot be authentic, first on account of the peculiar meaning attached to it and then

¹ In this study the stories on Quantity and Accent, as recorded in Anon. Διάλ. δ' (Frg. Philos. I 550, ed. Mullach), and Pseudo-Sergius iv. 531 f. (ed. Keil) have been left out of account; so further [Arist.] Poet. 20, 4. Categ. 4, 4; Rhet. 3, 1, 4, as being demonstrably and admittedly Byzantine interpolations.

on account of its plural form. For it is well known that *προσφῳδία* as a technical term, *accentus*, is a coinage of later times. There is no doubt that the word *προσφῳδία* originated in connection with 'singing' (ᾠδή), that is music—the mother or forerunner of poetry—and that it denoted an *abstract* notion, a *by-singing*, *cadence* of the voice, *rhythm*, *tone*, in other words the modulation or intonation formed by the rhythmical succession of stress (ictus) and fall. Now as singing and recitation are inseparable from speech, the *προσφῳδία* or intonation connected with verse gradually came to be applied also to the spoken language in the form of tone (not word-accent). Hence Aristotle, our oldest testimony to the term *προσφῳδία* as 'tone' (in the singular!), speaks of it as of a well-known element in speech and so represents it as a safeguard against the quibbling of sophists when they seek to pervert the true sense of written statements. While the sophists, he says, (Elen. Soph. 4, 8;—cp. Poet. 26, 18. Elen. Soph. 20, 3, 21, 1. 23, 3) can often pervert the sense in written composition, by misreading or mispronouncing its words, we can restore the true sense by reversing the reading method of the sophists, that is by using 'distinctness' or clear enunciation (*διαίρεσις*) and the proper tone (*προσφῳδία*) where they have resorted to the reverse process (Elen. Soph. 23, 3; also 20, 3). Thus in expressions like τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρος [Ψ 328] and τὸ οὐ καταλύεις, the question whether we should understand "this (wood) decays *there*" (οὗ καταπύθεται) or "this (wood) does *not* decay" (οὐ καταπύθεται), and "*wherein* thou dwellest" (οὗ καταλύεις) or "thou dwellest *not*" (οὐ καταλύεις)—depends upon the tone of the voice (*προσφῳδία*), that is upon whether we utter οὐ in a relaxed (οὗ) or stressed (οὐ) tone. In single or isolated words (παρὰ διαίρεσιν), he proceeds, such quibbling is 'not easy', unless in such cases as *δίδομεν* and *ορος* (Elen. Soph. 4, 8 and 20, 3). Even here, however, the *προσφῳδία* (tone of the voice, vocal accentuation) decides the point: *δίδομεν* (= 'we give') or *διδόμεν* (= *διδόναι* 'to give'), and *ὄρος* 'mountain' (not *ὄρος* boundary!) or *ὀρός* 'whey'.

The current reading in this passage of Aristotle (Elen. Soph. 20, 3) is: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ διττὸν τὸ παρὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος (argument, quibble) γίνεται διαιρούμενος, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ τὸ ὄρος (D ὁ ὄρος) καὶ ὄρος τῇ προσφῳδίᾳ λεχθέν σημαίνει ἕτερον. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ταῦτον ὄνομα ὅταν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἢ καὶ ὡσαύτως—κακεῖ δ' ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται—τὰ δὲ φθεγγόμενα οὐ ταῦτά. Now as Aristotle wrote *ορος* καὶ *ορος*, the reading of the second *ορος* as *ὄρος* and the

consequent interpretation of *προσφδία* as referring to the rough breathing is inadmissible. Not only is such a reading irreconcilable with the use of *προσφδία* in the remaining passage of Aristotle; as I have already indicated elsewhere (Histor. Greek Grammar 508 note), such an interpretation is contradicted by the explicit statement of ancient theorists discussing this very passage of Aristotle: Bekk. Anecd. 743 ἀναγινώσκειν δεῖ "κατὰ προσφδίαν", ἥτοι καθ' ὃν ἔχει τόνον ἢ λείξις,¹ ὥς μὴ ἀναγνῶναι τὸ ὄρος ὀρὸς καὶ τὸ ἀγνὸς ὁ καθαρὸς, ἄγνος, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς πλάνην ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄρος, τυχὸν ὁ Ὑμητὸς ἢ τὸ Ταῦγετον ἢ τι ἄλλο, ὁρὸν νοῆσαι ἤγουν τὸ ὑδατῶδες τοῦ γάλακτος. This is moreover corroborated by Galen when, referring to the same passage of Aristotle, he says (t. XIV 583, ed. Kühn): παρὰ δὲ τὴν προσφδίαν (γίνεται τὸ σόφισμα), ὅταν διττὸν γίγνηται, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ορος ἔστηκε. τὸ γὰρ διπλοῦν παρὰ τὴν διττὴν προσφδίαν, τιθεμένην κατ' ἀρχὰς ἢ περιαιρουμένην. So further 592. As to the passage ib. 591 ἐν μὲν οὖν ὀνόμασιν ἢ προσφδία ποιεῖ τὸ διττόν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκίτερον ἔλκει τοῦνομα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ορος ἔστηκεν [ἢ δασεῖα?], κατ' ἀρχὰς τεθεῖσα ἢ μή,—the statement, if genuine, weighs little against such overwhelming and explicit testimony to the contrary. But, as the text runs, the bracketed term ἢ δασεῖα here cannot be authentic, the subject of ἔστηκεν and τεθεῖσα being αὕτη (ἢ προσφδία).

The above usage in Aristotle of *προσφδία* as *cadence*, *rhythm*, *tone*, seems to have prevailed as late as the close of the second century B. C., seeing that Dionysios of Thrace, our oldest grammarian by profession, represents *προσφδία* (still in the singular!) as an 'art', that is to say as one of the several requisites of the art of delivery or 'trained reading'. In scholarship (*γραμματική*, Schol. *μεγάλη γραμματική*) he says, the first requisite is "trained reading" according to prosody (*ἀνίγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσφδίαν*) which prosody, together with *ὑπόκρισις* (impersonation, Schol. *μίμησις*) and *διαστολή* (distinctness, clear enunciation, the *διαίρεσις* of Aristotle) constitutes the "faultless recitation of poetry". For while *ὑπόκρισις* (impersonation) shows the intrinsic value (*ἀρετή*) of the piece, and *διαστολή* (clear enunciation) the sense contained therein, *προσφδία* shows the *τέχνη*, which expression obviously refers to the rhythmical or metrical treatment of the piece recited; so that *προσφδία* would indicate the rhythmical

¹ At the time when this scribe wrote the term *προσφδία* had assumed the meaning of 'accent'; whereas *προσφδία* for 'spiritus asper' (if aspiration can be termed *προσφδία*) is a still later development.

reading or scanning.—It is hardly necessary to add here the well-known fact that when in the course of Alexandrian or Graeco-Roman times, special signs of prosody (σημεία προσφθίας) were resorted to, these visible signs along with those invented for accent, breathings, stops, etc., assumed the concrete name of προσφθία and gave rise to the *plural* προσφθίαι, a term which henceforth applies to the eye and is very common among later Greek and Latin grammarians.

The preceding short account makes it clear that Plato's strange expression φθόγγους τε καὶ προσφθίας, 'the tones and accents of a brave warrior', cannot be genuine. It is very probable that Plato's earlier MSS read φθόγγους τε καὶ ΠΡΟΣΩΙΔΑΣ or ΠΡΟΣ- <ΓΕ>ΩΙΔΑΣ i. e. πρὸς <γε> φθίας: 'the sounds (the ἤχοι) and even songs of a brave warrior, engaged in a feat of arms.'¹

It would seem, then, that some scribe of the Graeco-Roman or Byzantine period, who was unacquainted with the adverbial use of καὶ πρὸς among the ancients, but was familiar with the grammatical term προσφθίαι, so common in his time, mistook or misread καιπροσωιδας for καιπροσωιδας and so tampered with the passage.—At all events the term προσφθία cannot be genuine in Plato, because it occurs nowhere else in his writings, because it appears in the plural form, and because it yields no sense.

The other passage in Plato already referred to, is of still greater import, since it is often appealed to as representing Plato's direct testimony to accent and quantity in his time. Crat. 416 B: Her- mog. τί δὲ τὸ καλόν;—SOCR. τοῦτο χαλεπώτερον κατανοῆσαι· καίτοι λέγει γε (λέγουσί γε GHPd) αὐτὸ ἁρμονία μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐ παρήκται. Thus referring to this passage in his Pronunciation of Ancient Greek (p. 33 English trans.), Blass says: "Plato in his Kratylos (416 B) indicates the difference between καλὸν and καλοῦν simply

¹ That καὶ πρὸς (γε) occurs as an adverbial expression in classical texts, is known to classical students. Compare e. g. Rep. 328 A καὶ πρὸς γε παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν. ib. 466 E κοινῇ στρατεύουσιν καὶ πρὸς γε ἄξουσι τῶν παίδων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅσοι ἄδρῳι. Soph. 234 A. Gorg. 469 B. Men. 90 E ἀλογία καὶ ἀμαθία γε πρὸς. Legg. 746 D.—Arist. El. Soph. 4, 7 τοσούτον καὶ ἐτι πρὸς. Hdt. 3, 6 ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἶνον δις τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστον. 5, 6, 7 τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθη αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖς ἐγέραιρον. 6, 125. 7, 157 Ζαγκλαῖους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους. ib. 184. Dem. 4, 28 τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν γε πρὸς. Eur. Ph. 610 καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς. Hel. 110. 956 ἀπόδος τε καὶ πρὸς σῶσον. Med. 704 ὀλωλα καὶ πρὸς γ' ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός.

as one of accent and quantity." The same statement is repeated in his very meritorious edition of Kühner's Ausführliche Griechische Grammatik (vol. i. 318): "Plato (Crat. 416 B) setzt den Unterschied zwischen καλόν und καλοῦν (beides damals ΚΑΛΟΝ geschrieben) ausser in die Quantität [μήκος] auch in die ἁρμονία d. i. den Accent."

This belief—let us at once say this fallacy—which seems to be almost general among modern scholars and critics, can be traced back to Byzantine commentators and scribes who, being aware that the 'beautiful' (τὸ καλόν) is also 'attractive', wished to connect it with καλοῦν i. e. 'inviting'. Thus Hermias of the fifth Christian century commenting on Plato's Phaedros says (p. 6, ed. Ast): φίλον γὰρ τὸ καλόν, κλητικὸν δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸ καὶ ἐπιτρεπτικόν· διὸ καλὸν λέγεται παρὰ τὸ καλεῖν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τοὺς ἐρῶντας. This fanciful etymology seems to have been popular with the scribes and schoolmasters of subsequent times, since we find it repeated in the uncritical Etym. M. s. v. 'καλὸς' παρὰ τὸ καλῶ, ἐκ τοῦ καλεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἑκαστον, ὡς 'ἀγαθὸν' ἐφ' ὃ ἄγαν θέομεν (!). It is apparently this popular view that the copiers of the codices GHP had in mind when they substituted λέγουσι, 'people say', for λέγει, 'it means.' In agreement with this very notion the scribes of the Bodleian and Venetian, BT, represent Socrates in Crat. 416 C as saying: οὐκοῦν τὸ καλέσαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ταύτόν ἐστιν; where Stephanus changes καλέσαν to καλοῦν, while modern editors, following Badham, have adopted καλοῦν for καλόν, so that the passage now smoothly reads: οὐκοῦν τὸ καλέσαν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ καλοῦν ταύτόν ἐστιν; τοῦτο διάνοια¹ i. e. "are then that which named things and that which names them identical? is this meaning?" Accordingly καλέσαν and καλοῦν here stand simply for the equally common alternative expressions ὀνομάσαν and ὀνομάζον, and the passage therefore has nothing to do with καλόν.

Let us now return to our particular passage Crat. 416 B and see whether it really speaks of 'accent' and 'quantity'. Hermogenes had just put the question to Socrates what is αἰσχρόν and what is καλόν, two opposed but naturally associated notions. To the question about αἰσχρόν Socrates replies that τὸ ἐμποδίζον καὶ ἴσχον τῆς ῥοῆς τὰ ὄντα λοιδορεῖν μοι φαίνεται διὰ παντός ὃ τὰ ὀνόματα τιθεῖς, καὶ νῦν τῷ αἰεὶ ἴσχοντι τὸν ῥοῦν τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἔθετο <τὸ Heindorf)

¹ The common punctuation: ταύτόν ἐστι τοῦτο, διάνοια; is erroneous, since after τὸ καλέσαν and τὸ καλοῦν we should expect ἢ διάνοια.

ἀεισχόρρουν (B, ἀεισχοροῦν Heindorf)· νῦν δὲ συγκροτήσαντες αἰσχροὺν καλοῦσιν, i. e. he who coins the names appears to me to scoff throughout at everything which hinders and checks things from their flow; so he now gave τῷ αἰῖ ἴσχοντι τὸν ῥοῦν this name: the ἀεισχόρρουν. At present however, people have 'contracted' it and call it αἰσχρόν.

Having received this explanation, Hermogenes proceeds to the second part of his question: τί δὲ τὸ καλόν; 'what then about the Beautiful?' To which question Socrates now replies as follows: τοῦτο χαλεπώτερον κατανοῆσαι. καίτοι λέγει γε (so BDT, λέγουσί γε GHPd, λέγω εἰ γε Schanz) αὐτό· ἀρμονία μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐδ (P, τοῦ οὐδ B, τὸ οὐδ GHPT, τοῦ οὐδ bd) παρῆκται.—EPM. πῶς δῆ;—"This καλόν is more (rather?) difficult to understand. And yet it tells its own tale: it has been produced only by harmony and by the length of ο.—Herm. 'How so?'"—Stalbaum's translation of καίτοι λέγει γε κτλ. by 'quamquam τὸ καλόν dicit numeri tantum gratia; atque hoc nomen mora syllabae ου est mutatum' is both arbitrary and meaningless. On the other hand Heindorf and Buttmann declare the whole passage to be most obscure and corrupt, which opinion is certainly justified by the ungrammatical and meaningless constitution of the text: καίτοι γε λέγει αὐτὸ ἀρμονία μόνον καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὐδ παρῆκται. For—(1) while Hermogenes declares himself unable to understand the alleged etymological explanation given by Socrates and so asks him again: How do you mean that? (πῶς δῆ; πῶς λέγεις;), Socrates calmly proceeds, not however in the attempted etymological method, but in a philosophical speculation about the *nature* of καλόν; (2) after λέγει γε αὐτὸ we should expect either ὅτι (ὡς) or an infinitive (παρῆχθαι), which latter has already been proposed; (3) adopting the punctuation καίτοι λέγει γε αὐτό· ἀρμονία κτλ. and assuming the reading ἀρμονία παρῆκται to form an independent clause, epexegetic of λέγει γε αὐτό, there is no subject nominative to παρῆκται. But apart from these grammatical difficulties, is there any logical connection between the question of Hermogenes and the answer of Socrates? Hermogenes asks, What is καλόν? and Socrates replies that 'it has been produced by accent only and by the length of ο.' But the form and constitution of καλόν prove the very reverse, both syllables in it (κα λόν) being short. Or are we to believe that to the question, What is καλόν? Socrates gave the trickish answer as to how καλοῦν has been obtained?

However, for this absurdity neither Socrates nor Plato is

chargeable; the responsibility lies with the interpreters and copiers who mistook Plato's words *ἀρμονία* and *παρήκται* for 'accent' and 'derivation', two technical terms quite familiar to the grammarians. But *ἀρμονία* here as elsewhere in Plato, means 'consonance', 'symmetry', 'harmony' and the like, *never* 'accent'. Indeed the term *ἀρμονία* for accent (*τάσις, τόνος*) is a much later usage adopted by the grammarians in Graeco-Roman times. Still less probable is the application of *μήκος* here to metrical or grammatical 'quantity'. As a matter of fact *μήκος* here (if genuine!), as everywhere else, is used in its ordinary meaning of 'longitudinal size', 'length', *longitudo*, a usage confirmed by Plato himself further below in his remark about A and H (427 E): τὸ δ' αὖ ἄλφα τῷ μεγάλῳ (i. e. *μεγA*) ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῷ μήκει (i. e. *μHκος*) τὸ ἦ, ὅτι μεγάλα τὰ γράμματα. Compare also Phaedros 244 C: οἰονοιστικὴν ἐπωνόμασαν ἦν νῦν οἰωνιστικὴν τῷ Ω σεμνύνοντες οἱ νέοι καλοῦσιν.

For these reasons I hold with Heindorf and Buttmann that the passage is corrupt. What the original reading was I do not presume to have discovered. At the same time I believe that a clue to the solution of the question is afforded by the subsequent remarks of Socrates and other parallel passages in Plato referring to the term *καλόν*. In all these places, Plato (or Socrates) avoids all etymological speculation upon the Beautiful, *καλόν*. In the passage under discussion, we are told that the origin and nature of *καλόν* is a rather difficult question (*χαλεπώτερον*). At the same time we learn that the term is 'self-explaining' (*αὐτὸ λέγει*); that 'it is indicative of its own meaning' (*τῆς διανοίας τις ὅκειν ἐπωνυμία τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα*), and that the term is the proper expression of that wisdom which produces such things as we accept believing them to be *καλά*: ὁρθῶς ἄρα φρονήσεως αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἐστίν, τὸ καλόν, τῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπεργαζομένης ἃ δὴ καλὰ φάσκοντες εἶναι ἀσπαζόμεθα.¹

In striking agreement with these views, Plotinos seeks to define the Beautiful by the following half etymological (*καλόν-καλεῖν*)

¹ Similarly in Phaedo 100 C-E: φαίνεται μοι εἰ τί ἐστιν ἄλλο καλόν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἄλλο καλὸν εἶναι ἢ διότι μετέχει ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ· καὶ πάντα δὴ οὕτω λέγω... οὐκ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖ αὐτὸ καλὸν ἢ ἡ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ εἴτε παρονσία εἴτε κοινωνία εἴτε ὅπῃ δὴ καὶ ὅπως προσγενομένη (edd.-von)· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ καλῷ τὰ καλὰ γίνονται καλὰ. τοῦτο γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἀσφαλίστατον εἶναι καὶ ἐμαντῷ ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τούτου ἐχόμενος ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ ἂν ποτε πεσεῖν ἄλλ' ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὅτῳ σὺν ἄλλῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ καλῷ τὰ καλὰ γίνονται καλὰ.

half philosophical speculations (de Pulchr. 50 D, p. 4, ed. Creuzer): τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ κινεῖ τὰς ὀψεις τῶν θεωμένων καὶ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ ἔλκει καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι τῇ θείᾳ ποιεῖ; τοῦτο γὰρ εὐρόντες τάχ' ἂν ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεασαίμεθα. λέγεται μὲν δὴ παρὰ πάντων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὡς συμμετρία τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, τό τε τῆς εὐχροίας (εὐχρείας codd.) προστεθὲν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὀψιν, κάλλος ποιεῖ. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τὸ καλοῖς εἶναι, τὸ συμμετροῖς καὶ μεμετρημένοις ὑπάρχειν, κτλ.—and so on passim.

These remarks of Plotinos appear to be very suggestive with reference to our passage: τὸ καλὸν ἁρμονία παρῆκται. For while his concluding words evidently reflect the aesthetic speculations of the ancient philosophers including Plato (λέγεται παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν), the introductory sentences obviously reflect the etymological connection of καλὸν with καλεῖν, popular already in Plotinos' time. Now keeping this theory of καλὸν-καλεῖν in view and remembering that in Plotinos' time ἁρμονία had assumed the meaning 'of accenting', we are warranted, I believe, in considering Plato's commentators and copiers as the source of the mischief: imagining that, like themselves, Plato associated καλὸν with καλεῖν and that he also used ἁρμονία in the sense of accent, they 'emended' the passage and so made Plato say that καλοῦν comes from καλὸν by a mere change of accent and by lengthening ὦ to ον. I hold then that in the sentence αὐτὸ ἁρμονία μόνον [καὶ μήκει τοῦ οὔ] παρῆκται the bracketed words are interpolated.

Be this as it may, a careful and critical study of all the Platonic passages alleged to refer to quantity, proves that Plato, though often discussing metrical passages, never indeed alludes to quantity. This is almost as striking as is the parallel phenomenon in him that, although he very often busies himself with the etymological analysis of words, many of which are aspirated, he never refers to aspiration.

On the other hand, *accent* is distinctly mentioned by him and denoted by the very appropriate terms ὀξύτητες, 'degrees of stress', ὀξύτερον 'relatively stressed', βαρύτερον, 'relatively relaxed or subdued', then συλλαβὴ ὀξεῖα, a 'stressed syllable', or συλλαβὴ βαρεῖα, a 'relaxed (subdued) syllable.' On this point the following passage is decisive beyond all doubt: Crat. 399 A-B: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοιόνδε δεῖ ἐννοῆσαι περὶ ὀνομάτων, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐπεμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δ' ἐξαιρούμεν παρ' ὃ βουλόμεθα ὀνομάζοντες καὶ τὰς ὀξύτητας μεταβάλλομεν· οἷον Διὶ φίλος. τοῦτο ἵνα ἀντὶ ῥήματος (phrase) ὄνομα ἡμῖν γένηται, τό τε ἕτερον αὐτόθεν ἰῶτα ἐξείλομεν (i. e. Δι' φίλος or Δ'ιφίλος) καὶ ἀντὶ ὀξεῖας τῆς

μέσης συλλαβῆς (Διφίλος) βαρεῖαν ἐφθεγξάμεθα (i. e. Διφίλος or Δίφίλος—mark here also the absence of all reference to the quantity of Δτ 'contracted' or συγκεκροτημένην from Δι!) ἄλλων δὲ τούναντίον ἐμβάλλομεν γράμματα, τὰ δὲ βαρύτερα <ὀξύτερα Buttman> φθεγγόμεθα.

As to Aristotle, the passages, quoted above, p. 76 from him show, abundantly that he not only speaks of *accent* under the name of προσῳδία, but that he also indicates the nature of accent or προσῳδία; he even adds (see above p. 76) that people had then—in his time—begun to indicate the προσῳδία by accentual marks or 'accents': ἤδη παράσημα ποιοῦνται.—That similar graphic marks were occasionally used to indicate also *quantity*, would appear from Poet. 26, 3: ἔστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος, καὶ διδάδοντα ὅπερ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος ὁ Ὀπούντιος.

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NOTE.

NOTES ON THE COLLATION OF PARISINUS 7900 A.

The following variations from the collation of Parisinus 7900 A found in Keller and Holder's critical edition of the Odes and Epodes of Horace (1899) are the result of a recent reading of the manuscript. As a third edition of this work can not be looked forward to with reason for some years to come, it may be of value to students of Horace to have these variations made public, since they somewhat improve the standing of the manuscript. Such variations as were noted in the Epistles have been sent to the editors.

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| <p>I, 3, 5, navisque A.
 4, 1, favonii, A.
 7, du A.
 11, imolare A.
 5, 5, Xeu A.
 7, 1, mitilenae A₁, mitil-
 enaen A₂.
 17, situ A₁.
 23, tempora A₂.
 10, 4, palestres A₁.
 17, laetis A.
 15, 13, nequi quam A.
 16, nequicquam A.
 16, gravis A.
 24, sthelenus A.
 16, 1, pulchra A.
 18, ultimee A₁.
 17, 18, et fide Teia A.
 19, 2, Thebaneque A₁.
 23, 10, Gaetulusve A (cf.
 I, 17, 1: 27, 10).
 26, 3, quis <i>omis.</i> A <i>pr.</i>
 28, 15, nox <i>omis.</i> A₁.
 19, nullum <i>omis.</i> A₁.</p> | <p>I, 18, <i>post</i> 19 A₁: <i>nola tr.</i>
 A₂.
 31, forset (?) A₁, forsan
 A₂.
 30, 4, aeadem A₁.
 33, 2, glicerae A₂.
 34, 16, hic A.
 35, 7, bithyna A.
 12, mutuunt A₁.
 25, volgus A₁, vulgus
 A₂.
 36, 13, neu A.
 37, 4, non, <i>supra</i> tempus
 erat A₂.
 31, superbo A.
 II, 1, 12, Cycropio A₂.
 37, relictus A₁.
 2, 2, inimicae A₂.
 2, lamae A₁.
 5, vivet A.
 6, 9, inique A₁.
 7, 5, Pomp A₁, Pompili
 A₂.
 8, 22, misereque A.</p> |
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- II, 13, 19, improvisa A.
 14, 7, Plutonē A.
 23, preter A.
 15, *carmen incipit* A.
 14, cōmune magnum A.
 17, 3, mecaenas A.
 11, praeoedes A.
 13, chimere A₁, chimerae A.
 19, 16, exitum A₁ (cf. Editio Prima).
 16, lygurgi A₁ (cf. Editio Prima).
 31, caudam A.
 III, 1, 24, zephris A (cf. IV, 7, 9).
 2, 30, neglectus A.
 3, 22, laumedon A₁.
 4, 14, nidum A.
 77, tytii A₁, tycii A.
 80, catene A.
 5, 56, at A₁.
 56, lacaedomonium A.
 6, *Inscriptio*, Romanum A.
 4, foeda A (ε=oe, cf. III, 3, 66: 4, 4).
 7, 22, spernit A.
 11, 9, aequa A.
 26, poenas A (cf. III, 6, 4).
 31, impiae A₁.
 52, quaerelam A.
 14, 11, expertae A.
 26, proterve A₁.
 16, 25, contempte A₁.
 41, hal ayti A.
 18, 12, pagus A₁ (pardus A var., *dubie*).
 19, 8, Paelignis A.
 III, 20, 4, proelia A (cf. III, 6, 4).
 21, 2, quaerelas A (cf. III, 11, 52).
 23, 9, namque A₁.
 24, 9, scithe A₁, scithae A.
 13, frugis A.
 38, boree A.
 39, durateque A.
 62, improbae A.
 29, *Inscriptio*, Pareti-cae A.
 30, *Subscriptio*, Pean A.
 30, *Subscriptio*, Amix-tione E (cf. Editio Prima).
 IV, 1, 10, odoribus A₁ (cf. Editio Prima).
 32, tympora A.
 2, 3, pennis A.
 15, tremende A₁.
 30, nemis A₁.
 3, 10, qua A₁.
 4, 7, vernique A.
 23, letaeque A₁, latae-que A.
 29, fortibus. et bonis A.
 68, proelia A.
 5, 1, romulae A.
 6, 38, nocti luca A.
 8, 15, celeres A.
 31, tindaridae A.
 9, 16, heleva A.
 20, sthelemus A.
 21, proelia A.
 52, peribit A₁.
 13, 24, servat^{ur} A (cf. Editio Prima).

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|---|---------------------|
| IV, 14, 1, quiritium A. | IV, 16, perculse A. |
| 3, Augustae A. | 9, 11, heheu A. |
| 15, 30, Lydiis A. | 18, caesarem A. |
| Epodes, 1, 16, firmum A. | 11, 6, Inachi a A. |
| 2, 50, magisque A. | 15, inestuaet A. |
| 4, 1, sortio A. | 26, contumelie A. |
| 5, 19, ova rane A. | 28, redonantis A. |
| 20, strigis noctur-
nae A (cf.
Editio Prima). | 12, 5, aliis A. |
| 33, mutate A. | 14, Inachiam A. |
| 94, dorum A. | C. S. 37, Romae A. |
| 7, <i>Inscriptio</i> , ab-
stineant A. | 38, etrusoum A. |
| | 38, turme A. |
| | 53, terraeque A. |

M. S. SLAUGHTER.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Works of Thomas Kyd, Edited from the Original Texts with Introduction, Notes, and Facsimiles, by FREDERICK S. BOAS, M. A., Balliol College, Oxford; Professor of History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast: Author of 'Shakspere and His Predecessors', etc. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, H. Frowde, 1901. Pp. cxvi, 470.)

It seems rather remarkable that, notwithstanding the interest that has been taken in Kyd during the past twenty odd years, a complete and authoritative edition of his works should not be published till the year just closed. We can congratulate ourselves, however, that if we have waited long, we have been rewarded by having in Prof. Boas's edition a scholarly piece of work. All the early quartos of Kyd's plays and pamphlets have been collated and the later editions have been consulted for their variations from the early texts. In each case the editor has fixed upon the text which as a whole preserves the best reading and he has varied from it only in cases where another quarto has undoubtedly a better reading or where all the quartos are manifestly corrupt. For the 'Spanish Tragedy' he has followed the text of the undated "Alde" Quarto, which is generally believed to be the earliest issue extant, and has collated with this the other nine quartos, besides noting the significant variations in the collections of Dodsley, Hawkins, Reed, and Collier, in Fleischer's 'Bemerkungen ü. T. Kyd's Sp. Tr.', and in Schick's edition of the 'Spanish Tragedy.' Manly's text in his 'Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama' does not seem to have been consulted. Boas's text of the 'Spanish Tragedy' varies only slightly from Schick's—and then usually for the better. He follows the wise plan of keeping as near his original as possible, and by so doing avoids the astounding emendations of earlier editors. He is careful to give credit where due to his predecessors—indeed, I have noted only two cases where in the establishment of the text credit is not properly assigned. In the 'Spanish Tragedy' II. i. 29. Schick, instead of Fleischer, is credited with changing the Qq. reading "these extasies" to "this extasie", and so restoring the rime; and in the same play, III. iv. 56, he fails to note that Fleischer was the first to give a very evident interpretation to the line—

To stand good L and help him in distress—

by making 'L' equal 'Lord' and not 'Lorenzo'—as had been done by the early editors.

Manly's text of the 'Spanish Tragedy' gives the misprints of the "Alde" Quarto, which Boas disregards. Among these Manly notes 'diadome' (I. iii. 83), which Boas prints as a correct spelling; he remarks on the omission of 'Lor.' before Lorenzo's speech (III. xiv. 128), which Boas silently supplies. Of II. i. 126-7—

Which sweet conceits are lim'de with slie deceits,
Which slie deceits smooth Bel-imperias eares,

Manly says the 1633 Q. omits 'are lim'de with slie deceits, Which slie deceits'; Boas says Qq. 1615-18-23-33 omit l. 126, and have in l. 127 'sweete conceits' for 'slie deceits.' Other places of disagreement in their collations are I. ii. 38, 'ordinance', 83 'waving'; II. i. 16 'Marses'; II. v. 22 'these'; III. xi. 9 'at the nine months'. Let those who have access to the original texts decide who is right. In III. xiv. 105 Boas is surely correct in following the Qq. and reading 'Truce,' which Manly emends to 'True.' Balthasar and Bel-imperia were engaged in a thrust and parry dialogue, when the heroine sees her father, and says 'I see my lord, my father,' and Balthasar replies 'Truce, my love, I will go salute him'.

Even if, as Schick says, we are not warranted in calling Kyd with Klein 'den unpersönlichsten aller Dichter', we yet know comparatively little of his life. There are twenty-three years, from 1565 to 1588, which can be filled in only inferentially, and for these Boas has said about all that prudent inference will allow. Nash's invective in his Preface to Greene's 'Menaphon' and the evidences of learning in Kyd's works are the data on which Boas furnishes forth these years in which biography is a blank. We can hardly take exception to the hypothesis that Kyd is the object of Nash's invective. There is no other person whom the cap fits so well as Kyd. Prof. M. W. McCallum¹ argues the case for Shakspeare 'without more casuistry than is considered lawful among literary critics', but this, the strongest case put forth for any one besides Kyd, falls through on the author's admission that he cannot identify Shakspeare with those who 'intermeddle with Italian translations: wherein how poorelie they haue plodded . . . let all indifferent gentlemen that haue trauailed in that tongue discern by their two penie pamphlets: and no meruaile though their home-born mediocritie be such in this matter'. And there are more reasons than this, which here it is not necessary to bring out, for refusing to Shakspeare the doubtful honour of Nash's hatred. Nor do McCallum's arguments weaken Kyd's claims to any appreciable extent.

¹"The authorship of the Early Hamlet," in *An English Miscellany* presented to Dr. Furnivall.

With Markscheffel,¹ Sarrazin,² and Schick,³ Boas holds to the view that the 'Spanish Tragedy' was written before the Armada. The arguments brought forward by Schröder,⁴ Brandl,⁵ and Bang⁶ seem wholly inconclusive. It seems incredible that, if the play had been written in 1589 or 1590, Kyd should be satisfied to refer to English victories as far back as those of John of Gaunt or that an English audience should see in these obscure events allusions to recent glorious victories. The exact date cannot be fixed by any evidence at present available, but Boas cannot be far wrong in making 1585-7 the period within which the play was written. To assume an earlier date, as Schick ventures, would, I think, be shut out by the fact that there is a passage in the play (I. ii. 22 f.) which is strongly imitative of the messenger's account of the battle of Thapsus in Garnier's 'Cornelie' act v.; it was in 1585 that the collected edition of Garnier's works was published. To assume with Sarrazin that this is a later addition, inserted when Kyd was at work on his translation of 'Cornelie,' seems wholly unnecessary.

In his discussion of the authorship of 'Jeronimo' Boas enters upon the troublesome problem of the establishment of the Kyd canon. We know positively from external evidence that only the 'Spanish Tragedy' and the translation 'Cornelia' are by Kyd; we have no such evidence for 'Jeronimo' or 'Soliman and Perseda.' Our only evidence is internal. Markscheffel,⁷ Sarrazin,⁸ and Koeppel⁹ favour the view that 'Jeronimo' is an early work of Kyd's, while Schröder¹⁰ and Fischer¹¹ emphatically deny it. It would be greatly to Kyd's credit if the burden of this play could be removed from his shoulders, but that the evidence adduced by Boas exonerates him is doubtful. We know from Henslowe's 'Diary' that there was a play in the nature of a more or less comic introduction to the 'Spanish Tragedy.' Markscheffel's contention need not follow that since the 'Spanish Tragedy' referred to a fore-piece, 'Jeronimo' must have been written before the 'Spanish Tragedy.' The references do not necessarily identify 'Jeronimo' with the fore-piece. Further the 'Diary' shows that this play had a short and feeble stage-life and that it is not mentioned after 1592. That it should be resurrected about 1600 and printed in 1605 is not improbable when regard is had to the history of the plays of this period. (Compare the publication of the 'Famous Victories of Henry V' and of 'King Leir.') That the

¹ Th. Kyd's Tragödien, p. 6 f.

² Kyd u. Sein Kreis, p. 50 f.

³ Ed. of Sp. Tr. p. xxi f.

⁴ Über Titus Andronicus (only accessible to me in the reviews).

⁵ Gott. Gel. Anz. 1891, p. 725.

⁶ Eng. Stud. XXVIII, p. 229 f.

⁷ Kyd's Trag., p. 13 f.

⁸ Eng. Stud. XVIII, 125 f.

¹⁰ Op. cit.

⁹ Kyd &c., p. 54 f.

¹¹ Zur Kunstentwicklung d. Eng. Tragödie, p. 100 f.

'First Part' was acted by the Children of the Chapel is manifest from the references to the size of the hero in the play itself; these references would hardly be suggested by the Children's performance of the 'Spanish Tragedy', as Boas maintains. According to the Induction to Marston's 'Malcontent' the Children misappropriated Kyd's play, which, as follows from the argument just adduced, must be the 'First Part', and in revenge the King's company acted the 'Malcontent.' His conclusion, now, Boas seeks to support by purely internal tests. Thus in the matter of characterization there are fundamental differences. The characters of Bel-imperia, Lorenzo, Balthasar, and most of all, of Hieronimo vary beyond reconciliation in the two plays. Sarrazin's endeavour to account for the change from the buffoon Jeronimo in the fore-piece to the tragic figure of Hieronimo in the 'Spanish Tragedy' as developmental surely fails. The resemblances between the two plays of which Markscheffel made so much are mostly conventional and accidental. On the other hand, there are inconsistencies between the fore-piece and the main play which, both Fischer and Boas maintain, are much more like the botching of a clumsy imitator than the forgetfulness or indifference of an author in regard to his earlier work. These differences and inconsistencies may be partly accounted for by the alterations made in adapting the play for the Children. Again, we need not assume that Kyd's intentions in the 'First Part' were the same as in the 'Spanish Tragedy.'

The presumptive evidence in favour of Kyd's authorship of 'Soliman and Perseda' is only this, that the story was used by him as the subject of the inner play in the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and that, as he first made use of a bit of description in Garnier's 'Cornelie' for his 'Spanish Tragedy' and later translated the whole play, so here he may have used Wotton's story as the subject of a complete tragedy, which before had furnished forth but a dramatic incident. The same ground for supposing an anonymous imitator to be the author does not exist as in the case of 'Jeronimo,' since Kyd's reputation was not so great nor the 'Spanish Tragedy' so famous in 1588-9 as in 1602-5. Unfortunately we have no source for the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and are therefore unable to compare the treatment of the original in that play with the handling of the source in 'Soliman and Perseda.' We are thus shut off from what would most probably be a satisfactory means of determining Kyd's authorship. About all that is left to us is a consideration of the original matter in the play. And it is principally on this that Boas bases his argument in favour of Kyd's authorship. A mere imitator of Kyd—and I cannot see why the author of this play should feel any need of imitating Kyd—would not likely imitate him in details more or less inconsequent to the action. So Boas does well in calling attention to 'Soliman and Perseda' I. iii., where the Prince of Cipris questions the knights about their exploits and moitoes and

they reply, as parallel to 'Spanish Tragedy' I. v., where the king questions Hieronimo concerning the knights and their scutcheons in the masque. Still more striking, as pointing to common authorship, is the scene (I. v.) where "Soliman is introduced with his two brothers Amurath and Haleb, of whom the former kills the latter as a traitor for protesting against an attack on Rhodes and is slain in retribution by Soliman himself". This is parallel to just as inconsequent a scene in the 'Spanish Tragedy' (I. iii.) where the "Viceroy appears between two lords, one of whom by a charge of treachery nearly brings the other to his doom". Further, as Boas points out, these scenes preserve a balance of location, in one case between Spain and Portugal, in the other between Rhodes and Constantinople. The mingling of the serious and the comic, which is not found in the novel, is in the manner of Kyd, as shown in the 'hangman' scenes in the 'Spanish Tragedy,' and certainly should not be used as an argument against his authorship. The highly comic character of Basilisco is a dramatic type with which Kyd must have been familiar. Indeed such scenes as these justify Ben Jonson's punning allusion to 'Sporting Kyd'. Some of Boas's other parallels are not so convincing, since in the case of 'Soliman and Perseda' the paralleled incidents are taken directly from the novel. The unnatural wavering of Soliman, which has been objected to as not in Kyd's manner, is also found in the source. The cheating of Lucina by Perseda by means of false dice is strikingly like the cheating of Pedringano with the false pardon, and is the author's own invention. The unfortunate means by which Perseda kills Soliman are not more melodramatic than Hieronimo's conduct in the close of the 'Spanish Tragedy.' We cannot venture beyond probabilities in this question, but these are in favour of Kyd's authorship.

The most convincing evidence we have of Kyd's authorship of the 'Ur-Hamlet' is in Nash's Preface, which we may almost with certainty regard as directed against Kyd; here Nash says—"and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches." If it were proved beyond a doubt that Nash was attacking some one else, I do not believe that the internal evidence, brought forward by Boas and others, would establish Kyd's authorship. However, so long as this external evidence points to his authorship, it is worth while to examine the corroborative internal evidence. The evidence consists of resemblances in technique and diction. Just as in 'Soliman and Perseda' there were variations from its source, so the 1603 Quarto of 'Hamlet,' which is our nearest approach to the 'Ur-Hamlet,' shows marked variations from its ultimate source in Belleforest's novel. And in 'Hamlet' the variations are more after Kyd's manner than those in 'Soliman and Perseda.' As Boas points out, we have a tripartite plot—personal revenge, political intrigue, and love romance—in the

'Spanish Tragedy' and in 'Hamlet.' The love element is barely suggested by Belleforest. The tripartite plot is also found in 'Soliman and Perseda.' In the 'Spanish Tragedy' and in 'Soliman and Perseda' Kyd is concerned to fix our attention on two separate scenes of action—Spain and Portugal, Constantinople and Rhodes; so in Hamlet, but not in the novel, ambassadors pass between Denmark and Norway. Ophelia's brother Leartes is parallel to Bel-imperia's Lorenzo, and in both cases the brothers clash with the lovers with death as the consequence. Again, the madness of Ophelia touches closely her lover Hamlet and the madness of Isabella affects most deeply her husband Hieronimo. And this matter dealing with Ophelia is the dramatist's own. The play scene as a means in the working out of the hero's revenge is an important factor in the 'Spanish Tragedy' and 'Hamlet,' and is also no part of Belleforest. It is in these broad lines where the play departs from the novel that the traces of Kyd are of some importance, and not in the more insignificant resemblances between the two plays, which Boas also adduces. Thus very little weight should be attached to the fact that Leartes and Lorenzo had both been in Paris.

If now the 1603 Quarto is a reworking of the 'Ur-Hamlet,' we should expect with Boas to find in it certain traces of Kyd's diction. The last three acts, our editor is convinced, are "almost entirely pre-Shakspearean", and he brings forward some three pages of parallels between the 1603 Quarto and the known works of Kyd. These parallels are correspondent in phrasing and are evidently reminiscent of the earlier play—whether conscious or unconscious, it matters little. For that very reason we are not justified in regarding them with Boas as "practically irresistible internal tests" of Kyd's authorship of the 'Ur-Hamlet.' Standing alone they are just as good evidence of imitation of Kyd's phrases as of his common authorship of these plays. In fact Sarrazin¹ points out parallels between 'Soliman and Perseda' and 'Hamlet,' Q. 1604, which we refuse to admit as proving a common authorship of these passages or as indicating that the passages in the 1604 Quarto, which, too, are not in the 1603 Quarto, are a survival from the 'Ur-Hamlet.' Moreover Boas himself in discussing the relation of 'Titus Andronicus' to Kyd disregards correspondence in phrase and dramatic technique with his known works as of sufficient weight to be a test of common authorship.

Further when Boas finds evidence of Kyd's hand in the fact that there is a marked objection to second marriages in the "inner play" of the 1603 Quarto, in 'Cornelia,' and in the 'Householder's Philosophy,' and infers, from there not being any such objection in Shakspeare's authenticated works, that the passage in the 1603 Quarto is a survival from the 'Ur-Hamlet' and is the

¹ Kyd &c., p. 106 f.

expression of Kyd's personal opinion, we cannot admit it as having weight. There is in the "inner play" a special reason for the duchess to express her abhorrence of second marriages. I have not the originals of Kyd's translations and cannot say whether he was gratuitously inserting in the works mentioned an expression of his personal disapproval of second marriages or not.

The last three sections of Boas's Introduction treat of Kyd's translations and last years, his influence and reputation, and the modern editions of his works.

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REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, LVII (1898).

I, pp. 1-7. C. Wunderer. Der Faustkämpfer im Museo delle Terme. This bronze may perhaps be taken to represent Kleitomachos of Thebes, the boxer described in Polyb. 27, 9, 7-13 (ed. Hultsch).

II, pp. 8-41. K. Zacher. Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung. 1. Ἐλεγος. Aristophanes and Euripides understand by ἔλεγος a dirge for the dead, without flute accompaniment, = οἰκτρος, θρήνος, it is also called νόμος or ὕμνος (Ἀσιγῆτας and βάρβαρος. The ἐλεγείον was not a dirge and the term must have been derived from ἔλεγος not from any similarity of content but on account of the characteristic distich-form. The word ἔλεγος is onomatopoetic (cf. ἐλελεῦ): it would correspond to old German welaga if we assume that the Greeks borrowed the word along with the practice from the Phrygians. 2. ἀγκυλοχείλης or ἀγκυλοχήλης? The latter reading for Aristoph. Eq. 197 better suits vs. 205. Then Aristoph. must have read -χήλης in Homer, into whose text -χείλης crept sometime before Aristarchus.

III, pp. 42-63. R. Reitzenstein. Litterarhistorische Kleinigkeiten. 1. Das Trostgedicht des Semonides. The fragments (Bergk II, pp. 443 fr. 1-5), probably belong to one poem whose beginning is preserved in fr. 1. The nearest parallel is Archilochos πρὸς Περικλέα. It is curious that later in Amorgos λόγοι παραμυθητικοί were quite often officially voted. 2. Eine ionische Quelle Herodots. The passage on constitutions III 82 and Theognis V 43-52, seem to have an Ionic source. 3. Zur Alcestis des Laevius. The description of the father of Admetos is a translation of Phrynichos (s. 702 N¹) in the same meter. 4. Das Gastmahl des Cicero. A better text is given (from cod. Cavensis 3 (C) saec. XI) of this collection of proverbs, which should be called the Symposium of Metellus and which is an excerpt of not later than the third or fourth century A. D. 5. A. Cornelius Celsus und Quintilian. Severianus c. 7 is abridged from Celsus; Quintilian is not used. Note on a different recension of Sev. known to Amerbach and others.

IV, pp. 64-102. E. Weber. Ueber den Dialect der sogenannten Dialaxeis und die Handschriften des Sextus Empiricus. Supplements his edition of the Dialaxeis published in the Festschrift für Curt Wachsmuth. The MSS are discussed. Stemma on p. 100.

V, pp. 103-122. P. Wendland. Zu Theophrasts Charakteren. I. MS transmission. II. Exegetical notes.

VI, pp. 123-133. W. Kroll. Astrologisches. Gleanings from cod. Laurent. 28, 34 saec. XI with a survey of the contents. The authors are sometimes mentioned and in some cases can be identified.

VII, pp. 134-149. W. Nestle. Die Legenden vom Tode des Euripides. I. The traditions (1) that he was slain by women (2) by dogs. II. Criticism of the traditions. Both forms of the legend may be traced to the myth of Pentheus treated in his last drama, the Bacchae. III. His grave. Discussion of the legends that his grave was struck by lightning and that near it two streams, one of good, the other of poisonous water, joined their courses.

VIII, pp. 150-183. O. Crusius. Aus den Dichtungen des Bakchylides. Interpretations of and critical notes on B., with remarks on Kenyon's ed. princ.

Miscellen.—Pp. 184-192. 1, pp. 184-5. F. W. Münscher: Zu Livius XXIV 24, 6-9. For posuit. et he reads posuisset.—2, pp. 186-8. O. E. Schmidt. Caesar und Brutus. Caesar's opinion of Brutus' character quoted by Matus ap. Cic. ad Att. XIV 1, 2 is not spoken ironically but refers to Brutus' strength of will which would make him a useful political tool.—3, pp. 189-191. J. Ziehen. Sullas Phthiriasis. The account of Sulla's death may perhaps be traced back to a fable about the plowman and the *φθείρες* (Appian. I 101) which Sulla used in a public speech just before his death.—4, pp. 191-2. M. Petschenig. Zur Kritik der Schrift de Mortibus Persecutorum.—P. 192. Addenda to pp. 105, 107, 112, 140.

IX, pp. 193-212. O. Immisch. Ueber Theophrasts Charaktere. The work of an Aristotelian, composed about 319 B. C. The Athens is the Athens of the time of Th., and the contents would suggest him as the author. According to the common opinion the form of the collection would be unfavorable to this hypothesis. The Characters are not mere pictures. The arrangement in the archetype of the MSS was original and intentional. We have no means of knowing whether we have the work entire. The leading motive of the author was aesthetical. The preservation of the work was due to the rhetoricians. There is no small probability that the little book is to be considered as a parergon to Theophrastus' works on rhetoric, devoted to the practical side, and at the same time designed to supplement and enliven the theoretical.

X, pp. 213-219. W. H. Roscher. Die Beziehungen des Pflaus zur Neumondfeier und Theophrastus Char. 4, 15. R. reads for *ὁ ἀγών, ὁ ταῶν*. The *ἀγροίκος* asks whether "the peacock was celebrating the feast of the new moon". This bird was an impor-

tation ἐκ βαρβάρων (Ael. de nat. an. 5, 21) and during the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. was exhibited for a fee at feasts of the new moon. It was sacred to Hera whose chief festivals came on those days. The countryman knows the peacock from hearsay and considers it endowed with sense and as celebrating the feast of the new moon.

XI, pp. 220-230. L. Radermacher. Zu den Fröschen des Aristophanes. Seven critical and exegetical notes.

XII, pp. 231-247. H. Weber. Plautusstudien. I. Zu den Bacchides. 1. On act II, scene I. Changes in the text have been based on a wrong interpretation of the context. 2. Act IV, sc. 8. No contradiction in the action as Langen PL. ST. s. 264 assumed. II. Zum Epidicus, vs. 9-10, and 721.

XIII, pp. 248-288. P. Wendland. Zu Philo's Schrift de postestate Caini. Nebst Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion der Septuaginta. Interprets and emends several passages, and mentions many peculiarities of Philo's style and his importance for the revision of the Sept.

XIV, pp. 289-306. H. Jurenka. Zur Würdigung der Römeroden des Horaz. J. holds that in long lyrics, odes in the narrower sense, a fundamental thought does not necessarily run through the whole. The poet easily digresses and we must follow his course of thought step by step. Odes III 1-6 are analysed.

XV, pp. 307-317. R. Reitzenstein. Zur Textgeschichte der Germania. Discussion with partial collation of a MS of the Germania hitherto unknown, in the Bibl. Gambalunga at Rimini. The date is 1476. The recension is independent of the classes AB and CD and has a common ancestor with Rd. (Vat. 2964) and Re (Ottob. 1795).

P. 317. R. Reitzenstein. Zu Oppian und Columella. The oldest MS tradition of Opp. Halieutica appears to be in some palimpsest leaves of Laurent. 57, 26, saec. X/XI. Besides the Sangermanensis of Columella there must have existed an old MS at or near St. Gall.

XVI, pp. 318-333. F. Susemihl. Beiträge zur Alexandrinischen Literaturgeschichte. 1. Ktesibios und die Wasserorgel. Die Zeit des Musikers Aristokles. The barber Kt. and the mechanic Kt. are different individuals. The former lived under Physkon and improved the hydraulic organ, as may be gathered by a comparison of the descriptions in Philon of Byzantium and Aristokles. The latter lived after the time of Physkon, and his writing *περὶ χορῶν* was not composed until 75 B. C. 2. Zum Leben des Erasistratos. Refutation of R. Fuchs, "Lebte E. in Alexandria?" Rh. Mus. LII 1897, s. 377-390. Unless it can be proved that he must have used vivi-

section, it cannot be asserted positively that he lived in Alexandria.
 3. Die Geburtzeit des Theokritos. About B. C. 315. He argues against Helm, Jahrb. f. Philol. CLV 1897, s. 389-396 who proposed 305-301. 4. Der Peripatetiker Boethos. Strab. XVI 757 may mean either that B. was his fellow-pupil or that he was his teacher. The latter, Zeller's opinion, seems probable.

Miscellen.—Pp. 334-352. 5. p. 334. R. Peppmüller. Oracula Sybillina III 29 ff. emends vs. 33 to *τηρεῖν' οὐ τόν* etc.—6, p. 335-7. W. Weinberger. Zur Philostrat-Frage. There were four of the name, 1. Ph. the son of Verus. 2. Ph. the Athenian (cf. pp. 503-4.) 3. Ph. the Lemnian, 4. The grandson of (2) or (3).—7, p. 337-8. G. Lehnert. Nachträgliches zu Lysanias. Remarks on his grammatical studies, supplementary to Baumstark, Philol. 53, 708 ff.—8, p. 338-9. G. Knaack. Ein angebliches Gemälde des Apelles. The statement of Domitius Calderinus (ob. 1478) rested on a false reading of Plin. N. H. XXXV 94.—9, p. 340-3. C. Bulle. Die Archytas-Ode und der Mons Matinus. Really two odes. The litus Matinum is put near Tarentum.—10, pp. 343-4. H. Deiter. Zu Statius. 6 emendations.—11, pp. 345-6. W. Soltau. Fabius Pictor und Livius. Reply to Lutterbacher's review of his Livius Geschichtswerk, in Deutsch. Literaturz. 1897. Nr. 50, s. 1968.—12, pp. 346-8. H. Deiter. Kritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften II. —13, p. 349. A. Funck. Zur Charakteristik Hannibals bei Livius 21, 4, 9.—Nullus deum metus etc., is a variation of the preceding perfidia plusquam Punica, and not to be taken as general.—14, pp. 350-1. H. Lewy. Sabbe-Sambethe. The name of the Chaldaean Sibyl means "grandmother". The Greek *σιβυλλα* may have the same root.—15, pp. 351-2. H. Rabe. Handschriftliches zu Cleomedes.—P. 352. Cr. Corrigenda and Addenda to pp. 150-161.

XVII, pp. 353-367. L. Cohn. Der Atticist Philemon. On the fragments in Vindob. phil. gr. 172, Laurent. 91 super. 10 and in Thomas Magister. Philemon lived before Porphyrios and after Alexander of Kotyaeion, the teacher of M. Antoninus. Besides the treatise *περί Ἀττικῆς ἀντιλογίας* he wrote a larger work, *Σύμμικτα* in which a variety of questions of grammar etc. are discussed.

XVIII, pp. 368-391. R. Peppmüller. Textkritisches zur Theogonie Hesiods. 1. Cases of double recension. 2. Discussion of readings handled by Rzach (Wiener Stud. vol. 19, 1897, Heft 1). 3. Nine conjectures based on easy changes.

XIX, pp. 392-7. H. Weber. Aeschylea. Ag. 444, Choeph. 67, 74, 75.

XX, pp. 398-408. L. Gurlitt. Ciceroniana. 1. Der Epikureer Phaedrus als Quelle in Ciceros philosophischen Schriften. Emends ad Att. XIII 39 fin., to *Φαίδρου περί θεῶν et παντός*. These

treatises were used in *de nat. deor.* and the fragmentary *Timaëus* whose subtitle *de universo* is thus supported. Both may have been sketched in the fall of B. C. 45 on his Tusculan estate.
2. Des Atticus Kritik an Ciceros Philippica II. *Ad Att. XVI 11, 1.*

XXI, pp. 409-417. J. Ziehen. Zu lateinischen Dichtern.
1. Emends vs. 8 of c. 399 cod. Vossianus Q 86 to 'letum ipsum.'
2. Emends the title of c. 431 to 'excusatio exilioris materiae.'
3. 10 critical notes on other epigrams of this cod. 4. Note on Ausonius' *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*. 5. In a dedicatory poem of a copy of Sedulius intended for the emperor Arcadius, in the tenth miracle he emends to 'fructu famulare iugum.' 6. In c. 744 (Riese) he holds to 'in pluvia' or 'am.' 7. In Dracontius' *Medea V 5*, he defends 'pendere.'

XXII, pp. 418-421. Robinson Ellis. *Ad Ciceronis epistulas quae in Tyrrelli vol. V continentur.* Critical and exegetical notes.

XXIII, pp. 422-427. E. Thomas. Ueber ein Schreiben des Marcus Antonius. In *Br. Mus. Pap.* 137, described by C. G. Brandis in *Hermes*, XXXII (1897) s. 509 f. Report of the triumvir in 33/32 B. C. to the κοινὸν Ἀσίας of privileges which Antonius the σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τεχνιτῶν καὶ στεφανειτῶν partly confirms, partly guarantees anew, and allows to be recorded on a bronze tablet. Acc. to the writer, with the exception of the greetings, the whole forms one long overloaded sentence. Critical notes follow.

XXIV, pp. 428-435. T. Büttner-Wobst. Eine Episode aus der Belagerung von Ambrakia im J. 189 v. Chr. The account in Polyb. XXI 28 (XXII 11) 4 ff. was misunderstood by Livy XXXVIII 7, 7 and Polyaen. VI 17. The inhabitants smoked out the Romans from a mine which they had directed towards the walls, by inserting a πίθος full of burning feathers. A πίθος of 39.3 amphorae would fit into a mine of the calculated dimensions and leave sufficient room for the egress of armed men who might have preceded it.

XXV, pp. 436-500. E. Lange. Die Arbeiten zu Thukydides seit 1890.—Pp. 436-464. Editions and translations.—Pp. 465-500. Life and work. List of passages referred to. (Addendum on p. 658).

Miscellen.—Pp. 501-512. 16, pp. 501. O. Crusius. Römische Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtererklärungen bei Johannes Laurentius Lydus. In *de mens.* IV 36, p. 71, Bonn. 198 R, there is an allusion to the beating of the puppet of Mamurius διαγελῶντές φασιν ὡς τὸν Μαμούριον αὐτῷ παίζοιεν οἱ τύπτοντες. The Roman form might have been: Mamurium ei ludunt. Other proverbial allusions are to be found in Lydus.—17, pp. 503-504. W. Schmid. Die Heimat

des Zweiten Philostratus. W. Weinberg (cf. Philol. 57, 335) is wrong with Christ if he traces the reference to the second Philostratus, the author of the Vita Apollonii and Vitae Sophistar. as a Lemnian to a misunderstanding of Synesios and Eunapios. Cf. Vita Ap. VI 27.—18, pp. 504-7. K. Praechter. Zur kynischen Polemik gegen die Bräuche bei Totenbestattung und Totenklage. Lucian de luctu 21 ff., is compared with Teles p. 22, 1 ff. Hense. Lucian's tract is an example of a cynic diatribe against the prevailing mode of mourning for the dead.—19, pp. 508-9. P. Weizsäcker. Zu Hygin. Poet. Astr. 2, 16.—20, p. 509. P. de Winterfeld. Fulgentianum.—21, pp. 510-11. F. Luterbacher. Fabius und Piso als Quellen des Livius. Reply to W. Soltau, Philol. LVII 2, s. 345.—22, pp. 511-12. J. Hirschberg. Eine lexikalische Kleinigkeit, reflection of light, ἀνάκλασις (first by Cleomedes) κατὰκλασις refraction, later in Damian διάκλασις.

XXVI, pp. 513-18. J. Boehlau. Schlangenleibige Nymphen. Discussion of an Attic black-figured kylix. These nymphs are relatives of Kekrops, Eurynome and Triton. They were divinities of the most ancient faith, but gave way before the Homeric Olympians and appear chiefly in fable.

XXVII, pp. 519-23. P. Weizsäcker. Ueber das Gemälde des Mikon im Anakeion zu Athen. Note on Paus. I, 18, 1. Two paintings are referred to. One on the rear-wall showed the Dioskuri and their sons; one of those on the long side-wall represented them as present at the rape of the Leucippides, and the other as accompanying Jason and the Argonauts.

XXVIII, pp. 524-63. H. Pomtow. Die Delphischen Buleuten. *Fasti Delphici III* I. Continuation of N. Jahrb. f. Philol. 1889 s. 513-578, die Priesterzeiten; 1894 s. 497-558; 657-704; 825-882, (II I, die Archontate der Amphiktyonendecrete des III Jdhts v. Chr. erster, epigraphischer Theil); Jahrg. 1897 s. 737-765; 785-848 (II, 2; zweiter, historischer Theil).

XXIX, pp. 564-577. M. Rostowzew. Die kaiserliche Patrimonialverwaltung in Aegypten. Even under the Ptolemies the public revenues were kept distinct from the revenues of the royal estates. The distinction was observed by the Romans until after Diocletian. From the papyri names of such confiscated or inherited estates may be gathered, mostly recorded under the names of their former owners. Each estate was in charge of an imperial vilicus or actor, and several were united under a procurator patrimonii, all under the jurisdiction of the idiologus.

XXX, pp. 578-595. W. Scheel. Die Bildung und Ueberlieferung der germanischen Völkernamen auf -ones. These names probably have a Greek origin. We should not divide Lingon-as but Ling-onas etc. In the ending we have not merely the

remnant of the weak Germanic declension but an evidence that the Greek ear caught and recorded the sounds and gave them the form which was generally current at the time.

XXXI, pp. 596-602. K. Ohlert. Zur antiken Räthselpoesie. Discussion of examples.

XXXII, pp. 603-641. T. Birt. Zum Aetna. Supplementary to Sudhaus' ed.

XXXIII, pp. 642-647. O. Crusius. Accius in Praxidico. (Plin. N. H. XVIII 59, 200). Accius worked over, most likely in verse, an astrological treatise, resting on the authority of an alleged Praxidikos. Accius in Praxidico stands on the same footing as Ennius in Sota, in Euhemero, in Epicharmo.

Miscellen.—Pp. 648-658. 23, pp. 648-9. H. Pomtow. Kyllon des Kyllon Sohn aus Elis. The murderer of the tyrant Aristotimos. The correct spelling appears in an inscription pub. in Bull. d. c. h. VII (1883) s. 426.—24, pp. 649-51. C. Wunderer. Zu der Faustkämpferstatue im Thermenmuseum Suppl. to Phil. LVII s. 1 ff.—25, pp. 651-3. A. Müller. Militaria. On some sculptured representations of phalerae at Athens.—26, pp. 653-6. K. Ohlert. Petroniana.—27, pp. 656-8. F. Hertlein. Zu Tac. Germ. 3. Reads sunt illius instead of illis.—28, pp. 658. C. E. Gleye. Zu Polyaen. reads Σπιτάκου for Πιττακού, in Strateg. IV 3, 21.—P. 658. Corrigendum to p. 449 by E. Lange (Die Arbeiten zu Thukydiden seit 1890).—Indices etc.

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ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, herausgegeben von EUGEN KÖLBING.
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I.—A. B. Grosart, Literary Finds in Trinity College, Dublin, and Elsewhere. The finds are chiefly poems of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods, preserved in two MSS, and including hitherto unrecognized work by Massinger, Beaumont, Tourneur, Randolph, Corbet, Strode, Townshend, and others, together with much that is anonymous. The chief MS is about one hundred years old. Grosart prints as specimens six poems by Massinger, Beaumont, and Randolph. They indicate that the recovered pieces are of small value.

H. B. Baildon, Robert Louis Stevenson, II.—Continued from volume XXV. It is the purpose of the article to introduce the novelist to German readers. This installment contains a discussion of Stevenson's published acknowledgments of the many and various literary influences to which he had been subject. It deals also with certain of his works in detail.

W. Sattler, *The Verb to dare* once more. Discussions of the verb *to dare* followed by the infinitive with, or without, *to* have appeared from time to time in *Englische Studien*. The present article adds numerous instances to those already cited, and draws the conclusion that the tendency of the language is to omit *to* after *dare* in the weaker auxiliary sense of *may*, *can*, or *will*, and to use it with *dare* in the transitive sense of *risk* or *challenge*. But in present usage exceptions are so numerous, and distinction between the two meanings so difficult, that the matter does not admit of a fixed rule.

Reviews.—Jantzen condemns such a book as Sweet's *First Steps in Anglo-Saxon* as unnecessary. It is another example of the mistaken desire for excessive simplification.—Several books of interest to the student and reader of Byron are reviewed by Kölbing. Wülker's *Ueber Gedichte Lord Byron* deals chiefly with the editions of spurious poems of Byron, issued by Johnston and Hone in 1816, immediately after the poet's departure from England. The impostures in some cases went through several editions. Kölbing inserts a few notes on these forgeries, especially concerning the history of the poem, *The Curse of Minerva*. The new edition of Byron's poems by Coleridge contains much material hitherto unpublished, but beyond the construction of a critical text it attempts little. A companion volume of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, edited by Prothero, is more complete than its predecessors. Germany's present interest in Byron is sufficient to call forth a second edition of von der Linden's translation of Medwin's *Conversations with Byron*.—Gosse's *Short History of Modern English Literature* is overestimated by Schnabel.—Krummacher finds Morris's *Dictionary of Austral-English* better in its scientific method than the majority of dialect dictionaries.—The first three of the forty-eight sections to comprise the German-English part of Muret-Sanders' *Encyclopädisches Wörterbuch* are reviewed by Heymann. In compass it will surpass Flügel, as Flügel surpasses Lucas. It is defective at times in its indication of stress in English words.

Miscellanea.—A. E. H. Swaen prints the first of several proposed contributions to *Old English Lexicography* in which he deals with above seventy words and expressions, most of them to be found in Sweet, and the remainder in Bosworth-Toller. He amplifies the comments of other lexicographers, and adds a considerable number of illustrative quotations. Wülfing in turn corrects and extends Swaen's remarks, on pages 449-455 of this volume.—Certain reminiscent statements by Jane Clermont recorded in the *Nineteenth Century*, volumes XXXIV and XXXV, are refuted by von Westenholz. Miss Clermont was mistaken in her assertion that a meeting between Shelley and

Byron took place just before the latter left England in 1816.—A question of plagiarism in connection with one of Shelley's juvenilia is investigated by H. Richter. He finds no foundation for the charge except a resemblance in matter and diction between Shelley's *Ghast* and parts of Lewis's *Wandering Jew*.—Stoffel ventures to explain the origin of the intensive and deprecativ functions of *any*.

II.—A. Schade, On the Relation of Pope's January and May, and Wife of Bath, her Prologue, to the corresponding portions of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. A continuation of an article in volume XXV. The writer toils through sixty-seven pages to reach the obvious conclusion that Pope's Wife of Bath is 'eine wertlose Production.'

G. Sarrazin, The Origin of the Modern English Diphthongs, *ai* and *au*. The tendency of *i* and *u* to pass into diphthongs appears first among the scribes about 1400 in the northwest Midlands, and as in German, it is first observed in stems ending in a vowel, as *by*, *thy*, *cry*. The predominance of the London dialect after 1400 increases the difficulty of investigation, but the author finds traces of the diphthong *ai* in Wiltshire by 1420. Even in Chaucer there are traces of it in such words as *yē*, *lyen*. Of the diphthong *au* traces are discoverable as early as 1400 in west Midlands, and its history is similar to that of *ai*. The author's evidence is somewhat scanty, and he is too confident in his theory that by reason of the Black Death and other troubles which depopulated the east Midlands, the influence of the west Midlands upon English pronunciation was very great for upwards of one hundred years.

J. Ziehen, For a Programme of Subjects to be used as the Basis of Oral Exercises in the Three Upper Classes of the Realgymnasium. There are serious objections to the present use for this purpose of pictures, commonplaces, or even the subject-matter of the reading-book. For these the writer would substitute topics drawn from the study of English history, literature, or geography of the preceding term. The work should be made interesting and not difficult. With the immediate advantage of review and lively practice in conversation for ten minutes of the hour, the student may, with proper teaching, acquire a wider culture and a deeper interest in these subjects.

J. Ellinger, Contributions to English Grammar. A few notes on modern idioms surviving from Old and Middle English. Among others are the use of the appositive substantive instead of the qualifying genitive, the adjective in apposition, and the use, with the definite article, of the gerundive and its object. The article is deficient in illustrations from Old and Middle English.

Wendt's Theses. At a meeting of the German teachers of modern languages in Vienna, 1898, Wendt brought forward for discussion twelve theses or proposals defining the methods in favor with the more radical teachers of French and English in the German schools. The editor reprints the theses and invites discussion of them in his pages. They are criticized by Mangold, and again by Koch (pp. 369-387), for their restrictive and utilitarian character. Koch incidentally commends this method of printed discussion, as preferable to the prolix and profitless oral discussion in conventions.

Reviews.—In Kellner's opinion the great abundance of even obvious material in Wülfig's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfred's des Grossen* is bound to prove valuable to many students, even though it make the book an inconvenient one for ordinary use.—Luick, in a careful review of Bauermeister's book on rhymes in the *Faerie Queen*, and of Dierberger's *John Dryden's Reime*, says that the study of rhyme in modern English poets is governed by considerations which do not enter into the study of Middle English rhymes. The student must discriminate carefully between traditional rhymes and those of modern origin. He should also remember that all evidence drawn from modern rhymes should be subject to modification by evidence of more direct character handed down by contemporary observers, chiefly the grammarians, whose testimony it ought only to supplement.—Hoops considers the Centenary Edition of Burns, issued by Henley and Henderson in four volumes, to be the best critical edition of the poet.—In the reviews pertaining to English 'Realien' there is little to interest the American reader. Perhaps M. Förster's review of Klöpffer's *Englisches Real-Lexicon* deserves mention. The book had been praised by superficial reviewers. Förster exposes it as a deliberate and unconfessed steal from Brewer's *Phrase and Fable* and others.

Miscellanea.—Bang attempts to solve the crux, *viritoot*, *Canterbury Tales* A 3771, by reading *upon the verray tot*, an imitation of the French idiom, *sur le tôt*.

III.—G. L. Kittredge, Chaucer and Froissart. Certain points of identity between *The Book of the Duchesse* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, especially in the opening passages of each, are well known, but opinions differ as to which poet imitated the other. *The Book of the Duchesse* was written in 1369. Everything points to the fact that the *Paradys d'Amours* was written some years before 1369 except four lines in the *Paradys* which refer without question to Froissart's long Arthurian romance, *Méliador*. Now there are two versions of the *Méliador*. The writer shows with convincing evidence, both external and internal, that even the earlier of these two versions could not have been begun before 1373, nor completed before 1384. It

would therefore seem necessary, he says, 'either to push the Méliador back to 1366-1369 (against much evidence), or to push the Paradys forward to 1384 (against all probability).' The solution of the dilemma he finds in the fact that the Paradys, though finished by 1369, was later revised (in 1393 or 1394), and the allusion to the Méliador then inserted. Thus it would seem that Chaucer was the borrower, not Froissart. An ingenious part of the article is the writer's proof that of the two versions of the Méliador, A was written first, and is the one composed at the request of Duke Wencelas of Luxembourg. Its clearness and condensation should recommend the article to many an investigator.

A. L. Stiefel, Lemerrier as a Plagiarist of Shakespeare. Lacroix, in his *Histoire de l'Influence de Shakespeare sur le Théâtre Français*, 1856, has overlooked certain minor figures such as Lemerrier, dramatist of the Revolution and the Empire. Lemerrier, who imitated Shakespeare rather than the French dramatists, wrote a comedy called *Le Frère et la Sœur Jumeaux*, of which the substance is the Viola-Sebastian-Olivia story from *Twelfth Night*. He has stripped the story of every artistic virtue which Shakespeare gave it, and though he transfers many a speech literally, he has produced only 'eine platte parodie.'

R. Boyle, Daborne's Share in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays. Two plays by Daborne—*A Christian Turned Turk* and *A Poor Man's Comfort*—have been reprinted by Swaen in *Anglia* (volumes XX and XXI), and they confirm the opinion of Boyle that Daborne collaborated with Fletcher and Massinger in *Thierry and Theodoret*, and with Massinger, Fletcher, and Field in *The Bloody Brother*. Incidentally certain points of resemblance between the style of Wilkins and that of Daborne are discussed with the purpose of illustrating the influence of Wilkins upon Daborne. The article is obscure throughout both in arrangement and argument.

Reviews.—Binz says of Trautmann's *Kynewulf, der Bischof und Dichter*, that the author is unwarranted in clinging to the theory that *Cynewulf* was identical with Bishop *Cynewulf* of *Lindisfarne*.—In his note on Miss Weston's modernized *Sir Gawain*, Kölbing heartily approves of the endeavor to popularize the results of scholarship and make them available for purposes of general culture.

Miscellanea.—M. Förster calls attention to the confused arrangement of the earlier poems of Byron in the recent edition by E. H. Coleridge, and in other editions published since 1830. It is traceable to the fact that in that year Moore published an edition which he called *Hours of Idleness*, but of the seventy poems

which it contained only thirty-nine were taken from the original *Hours of Idleness* published in 1807. The others were taken from various early editions, and the resultant mistakes in chronology have never been fully corrected. Other notes on Byron are from Förster (on *Pseudo-Byronic Literature*), Bang (on *The Siege of Corinth*), and Weyrauch (on the *Prisoner of Chillon*).

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BRIEF MENTION.

Ever since Georg Curtius popularized the distinction between *Zeitstufe* and *Zeitart*, as he did in his *Schulgrammatik* of fifty years syne, both teachers and makers of school grammars have repeatedly rebelled against the traditional nomenclature. What sense is there in a present imperative when the imperative is future, what sense in a present subjunctive when the subjunctive is a future? Some grammarians, moved by the devil, who is the author of all confusion, have actually used present and past imperfect; Aken, on the other hand, proposed to use Verbum Imperfectum, Aoristum, Perfectum throughout. But if anything is clear, it is clear that it is necessary to keep away from the inevitable associations with the indicative tenses. Now I am not enamored of new terminology and am disposed to leave all these inventions to the gentlemen who are manufacturing spectrum gratings for the Latin subjunctive. But, if we are to have a new set of words for the relations that are common to all the moods, indicative included, it seems to me better that we should take refuge in Greek. 'Durative' is not perfectly satisfactory, as Professor Miller has pointed out in this Journal (XVI 143). 'Complexive' does not exhaust the significance of the aoristic tenses; neither does 'ingressive.' Now the Greek παρατατικός is an infinitely better word than the Latin *imperfectum*, and the only objection to it is the danger of confounding 'paratatic' with 'paratactic.' 'Aoristic' is not very satisfactory. 'Apobatic' is much better; and the use of ἀπέβη in the 'gnomic aorist' seems to encourage the adoption of the word. Cf. Plato, Conv. 181 A: ἐν τῇ πράξει, ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ, τοιοῦτον ἀπέβη. 197 A: οὐ μὲν ἂν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος διδάσκαλος γένηται, ἐλλόγιμος καὶ φανὸς ἀπέβη. Hdt. 3, 82: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόβου ἀπέβη ἐς μοναρχίην. Finally, the perfect relation might be expressed by 'syntelic' (Gr. συντελικός); and the series would be complete. Present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect and aorist might be left for the indicative. To be sure, I am not all enthusiastic about the suggestion, which may even lack the merit of novelty; for any one who has read long and read widely cannot always put his finger on the source of notions, whether the scratched poll and the gnawed nails or the morass of what is called 'grammatical literature.' But who can tell whether shall prosper, either this or that, in grammatical nomenclature? Who could have dreamed of the rivalry for the credit of 'prospective'?

Among the new books, the number and variety of which bewilder the unfortunate editor of this Journal, I notice an ele-

mentary grammar of the Hebrew tongue by a Dutch scholar, J. D. WIJNKOOP, *Handleiding tot de kennis der hebreuwsche taal, Tweede Stuk* (Brill, Leiden); and this second Part (*Wortvoeging*) reminds me that AKEN, just mentioned, is one of the few Greek scholars to make use of the Hebrew verb in elucidation of the Greek (*Tempus u. Modus*, § 14). AKEN'S *Tempus u. Modus* was published in 1861, when Americans of my latitude had scant access to any foreign literature, including that of the United States; but even before 1861 I had noticed for myself the importance of that 'höchst alterthümliche und daher syntactisch nicht unwichtige Sprache.' The Hebrew Imperfect, once called the future, is 'paratatic,' the Hebrew Perfect is 'apobatic,' and with these two tenses, the 'Holy Tongue' gets on very comfortably. It is a pity that classical scholars do not take an occasional run outside of their own palings. It would strengthen their muscles indefinitely. So, for instance, the problems of the Greek accusative are child's play by the side of the Hebrew accusative, or better perhaps the so-called accusative. Everything is 'so-called' nowadays. And when I am saddened by the present development of psychological syntax and ask with Professor Hale 'Whether there is still a Latin Potential?' I take down my precious Mpongwe Grammar and comfort me with 'affirmative and negative Potentials,' that flourish or flourished on the banks of the Gaboon River.

Seriously speaking, the chief trouble about 'potential,' as about many terms that are bandied about in the 'ping-pong' sport of recent grammarians, lies in the want of clear definition, of sharp synonymical distinction. 'Potential' is not 'possible' merely, 'potentiality' is not 'possibility' merely. No one who uses modern English carefully ought to confound the two for a moment. When Mr. Tyndall in his famous Belfast address said that he discerned in matter 'the promise and potency of all terrestrial life,' 'promise' explains 'potency.' We are not in the region of foot-pounds. We are in a moral region. The 'potential chick' is something more than 'a possible chick,' and even if those who invented the term 'potential mood' had no such sharp distinction in their minds, it matters not. Both 'possibility' and 'potentiality' lie in the word *posse*, lie in the word δύνασθαι. But δύνασθαι splits itself into οὐκ εἶναι and οὐκ ἔστιν: and ἡ δύναμις and τὸ δυνατόν are not the same. ἡ δύναμις belongs to the sphere of potentiality (φύσις); τὸ δυνατόν to the sphere of 'possibility' (τύχη), (A. J. P. XIX 231), just as οἶος is used of character in the Characters of Theophrastus, while οἷος τε is used of 'position,' merely. (A. J. P. VII 165.) These distinctions were present to the minds of the Greeks, and are therefore worth much more than modern analyses, which can go on refining and

refining without aiding the student in the least to get the antique point of view—the all-important thing to him who wishes to master the secrets of antique expression. But I have hammered at this before (A. J. P. XIX 231).

Professor BRUGMANN is doing a memorable service to the cause of comparative grammar in bringing out an abridged edition of his great work, under the title *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg, K. J. Trübner), the first part of which is to be followed speedily by the others, so that the whole work will be in the hands of the student in the early part of 1903. To the ethnic grammarian the half is more than the whole, and many a classical philologist will be won by this concession to the needs of a busy guild: although I imagine that classical philologists are not generally such strangers to the processes of scientific linguistics as Professor BRUGMANN seems to think. WHITNEY and PAUL, whom he commends to our attention, are familiar to us all, and OERTEL's new book, *Study of Language*, will occupy a shelf of easy access, even to us. All philological thinking, all philological teaching, is profoundly influenced by the methods of comparative grammar: and the μέγας ἀμωρεῖς that prevents the incorporation of every new theory into the body of grammatical doctrine is not to be mistaken for ignorance. If, for instance, I were writing on the genitive for students of Greek syntax, I should not proceed to reverse the old tenet, which represents the genitive as dependent on the verbal element of the noun rather than on the nominal element of the verb. Why not? First, because I think it can be shown that this was the Greek conception, not necessarily the original conception, but the popular conception; and for me the Greek conception is decisive; decisive for the line of development, decisive for artistic expression. And then if we go back to the original conception the noun has all the rights of the verb. The noun is a verb at rest. The verb is a noun in motion. Quicken the noun, you have a verb. Freeze a verb, you have a noun. The question of priority is naught. When Noun and Verb, which we are as apt to personify as was the author of the *Bellum grammaticale*—when Noun and Verb were born into the world, there was no midwife to tie a scarlet thread on the hand of the twin that came out first. (Gen. xxxviii: 28.) And I note with great interest that while Brugmann in his *Gr. Gr.*,³ p. 392, accepts Delbrück's position, he adds a caution against the sharp distinction between the adnominal and the adverbial genitive and urges with a great deal of force the bias of the Teutonic mind, due to the use of the German genitive, and emphasizes the importance of considering also the *von* periphrasis of the genitive. In English our genitive

has shrunk into a possessive, except in an occasional adverbial phrase; and though the genitive and the *of* periphrases are not absolutely interchangeable and though there is, I believe, an extensive literature on the difference between an 'ass's head' and 'the head of an ass,' still the *of* side, the ablative side, the 'adverbial' side, is not clearly felt. In short, our mixed case presents to our consciousness a fusion that is not un instructive. Think of such an expression as 'admitted *of* the Order of St. Patrick.' As *of* therefore does not carry with it the full ablative signification, so the ablative genitive in Greek calls for prepositional reinforcement; and the whence-case uses of the genitive so often cited from Sophokles are artificial, are hyper-epic and recur again only in Greek that has no contact with the real life of the people.

As a matter of fact, the theory of the cases is the opprobrium of syntax to this day and it will continue to be so. Of the twins, if I dare keep up the figure, the Verb is Valentine and the Noun is Orson. The verb—I speak of the Greek verb—is to a certain extent calculable and we can talk of categories, whereas the case constructions are not to be counted on. And while we must not despair, must not do as Hübschmann has done and content ourselves with giving a list of the verbs that take the accusative, still the cases keep us guessing; and the mixed case business, which was not new in the time of Quintilian, will continue to plague the student of language for aeons of Delbrücks to come.

In an ungracious review of GOODWIN's *Demosthenes de Corona*, published in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for Jan. 25, 1902, Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP says that it is inexcusable in GOODWIN not to have made use of the reviewer's *Antike Demosthenesausgaben*, which came out as early as 1899. GOODWIN's preface is dated Nov. 15, 1900, and the complete MS had doubtless been in the hands of the printer months and months before, so that he could not well have availed himself of Herr DRERUP's illuminating performance. But Professor GOODWIN can take care of himself and an explanation will doubtless be forthcoming in due time. One thing, however, I will mention by way of illustrating the spirit of so much German criticism of American work. In order to punish Professor GOODWIN for his sin of omission Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP has characterized the veteran scholar as one 'der in seiner Heimath als griechischer Grammatiker bekannt ist.' This is assuredly faint praise of a man whose syntactical work is regarded in England with a reverence that is dangerously near to superstition (A. J. P. XII 388; XIV 126; XVII 516), and whose name had been familiar

to German scholars long before Herr ENGELBERT DRERUP was 'dry behind the ears.' If GOODWIN is to blame for not knowing DRERUP's work, which, I grant, has attracted much attention, what is one to say of DRERUP, who ought to be familiar with REHDANTZ's *Indices*, in the third ed. of which (1874) GOODWIN is repeatedly cited? But in view of the fact that we Americans have done so much work in the grammatical line, DRERUP's sneer may in the course of time come to be a high compliment.

The Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (N. Y., Henry Frowde), the first numbers of which were welcomed by the Journal, is speeding on its way. The latest issues at the time of writing (April, 1902) are MONRO and ALLEN's *Iliad* and BURNET's *Republic of Plato*. Those who have to teach and study Plato in his entirety are especially to be congratulated on the prospect of having so good a text as BURNET's complete within a reasonable time. A word of warning, however, to the intending purchaser. The recent numbers have come to the Journal in paper covers and it is but right to say that the books fall to pieces with the fatal facility of the German editions; and the trifling additional expense of a sixpence or at most a shilling for bound copies ought to be cheerfully borne by those who use the books. There is also an edition of the Republic on India paper at 7s. (\$1.75) and another on 4to paper for marginal notes at 10s. 6d. (\$2.60).

In Professor GILBERT MURRAY's text edition of *Euripides* which belongs to the same Oxford series, I am sorry to see that the editor with the same lightheartedness that characterizes his History of Greek Literature has followed what he takes to be the chronological order of the plays. Only special students will read Euripides in that way; and for ready reference the alphabetical order of which NAUCK has set the example is much better.

The *Archiv für Stenographie* (Berlin, Thormann u. Goetsch) gives up a large part of its space to the subject of ancient tachygraphy, and deserves to be better known by students of palaeography. The last number that has reached the Journal has an interesting article by the well-known palaeographer WESSELY and a review of Foat's article in the Hellenic Studies by the Viennese scholar GITLBAUER. This is a field of research that ought to be especially congenial to Americans.

My acquaintance with Goethe goes back to the beginning of my Teutonomanic period in 1847, and I doubt whether any

boy of my age ever devoured so much of Goethe in so short a time. There was not much that I left unread from Goetz von Berlichingen to the Second Part of Faust. His lyrics were my delight and I learned many of his 'Sprüche' by heart. But while I enjoyed the light and the warmth of my luminary, I did not inquire too curiously in what sign of the zodiac my sun was standing, or whose star, not to say petticoat, was in the ascendant, Friederike's, Frau von Stein's, or Ulrike von Levetzow's. Since that far-off time every recess of Goethe's life has been explored and every sinuosity of his long career has been lighted up, and in his edition of *Goethe's Poems* (Holt) Professor GOEBEL assumes, and assumes justly, a knowledge of Goethe's biography as a prerequisite for the study of the specimens he has selected. Many of my old favorites are there and as I re-read them under Professor GOEBEL's sympathetic guidance I feel how much I lost for the appreciation of the great master himself in the days when I appropriated all that my eager boyish intellect could take in. Whether the ethical influence would have been as potent, if I had known as much of Goethe's moods as I could have learned from such a book as Professor GOEBEL's, is another matter. I do not know; and if I am to follow Goethe still, I ought not to care.

Willst du dir ein hübsch Leben zimmern,
Musst ums Vergangene dich nicht bekümmern.

Under the title of the *Ancient East* Mr. David Nutt (London) has been publishing a series of small books on great subjects by eminent authors. By their popular character these 'shilling shockers', as they may well be called by the ultra-orthodox, withdraw themselves from the critical appreciation of a journal like this. The latest number (IV) is JEREMIAS, *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, which has had as its predecessors WIEDEMANN's *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, NIEBUHR's *Tell El Amarna Period* and ZIMMERN's *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*.

The great theme that was attacked with airy donnishness by Mr. VERRALL in his *Euripides the Rationalist*, by M. DECHARME with French elegance in his *Euripides et l'esprit de son théâtre*, has been handled with German thoroughness by WILHELM NESTLE in his *Euripides der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer). Of the insight shown in the 368 pages of text, of the learning exhibited in the nearly 200 pages of 'Anmerkungen', the limits of *Brief Mention* forbid me to write. And as for a longer review, reams of my performances in that line already await the dust-bin. At the same time I must say frankly that the vast bulk of modern 'appreciations' sometimes make me

sigh for earlier and shorter methods, and that as I contemplate Herr JOËL's well nigh 2000 pages of lucubrations on *Der echte und der Xenophontische Sokrates*, I wonder whether there will ever be another Quintilian to write an encyclopaedia of Greek and Roman literature in one chapter, and that when I turn over the pages of NESTLE, my thoughts revert to Nauck's admirable introduction to his Euripides. Give that to your class in Euripides with the proof texts. Macerate it, if you choose, for the feebleness of digestions, but the root of the matter is there.

To pronounce on the merits of a dictionary without actual trial is a *lèse-critique*; and I have refrained for many months from saying anything in commendation of HARDER's *Schulwörterbuch zur Homers Iliad und Odyssee* (Leipzig, Freytag), despite the seductions of large, fair type, up-to-date illustrations, and very reasonable price. Lately, however, I took the book with me on a voyage through Iliad and Odyssey, and found that it answered admirably to repeated tests. La Roche, a high authority, has in a recent review (*Z. ö. G.* 1902, p. 36) made himself responsible for the completeness of the book and, when one recalls the absurd omissions of so many pretentious lexicographical works, that is a great point gained. Of course, in an Homeric dictionary intended for schools a certain dogmatism is necessary. So αἰγιόχ which in the larger lexica is the haunt of etymological storms, appears in AUTENRIETH, as I ought to have mentioned in my discussion of the word (*A. J. P.* XVI 261) and in HARDER, with the interpretation, which I advocated there and no variant is given. But it is the business of the teacher or the commentary to supplement the school dictionary, and, fortunately or unfortunately, almost all the disputed Homeric words are still as doubtful as they were in the days when Chapman, our 'English Lucan', gave his translation to the world. It comforts one to think that Pindar did not have any clear notion of what ἡλίβατος meant (*O.* 6, 4) and that he could not have stood a better examination in ἀμειμάκετος than did the fellow in the *Δαιταλῆς* on ἀμεινὰ κάρηνα. But remarks like this will be set down to the 'miching mallecho' of the inditer of *Brief Mention*.

C. J.: MACLEAN's *Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac as spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, &c.* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press), is intended as a companion volume to the author's *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (Cambridge, 1895), which treats of the language spoken by the Eastern Syrian Christians, also called Nestorians or Chaldeans, dwelling upon the borders of Turkey and Persia. A large part of the

material was gathered by the author during his five years' residence in the country as head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission, a position which gave him exceptional opportunities. He also had the assistance of several manuscript vocabularies, and has drawn to some extent from the works of Sachau, Socin, Lidzbarski and others, but practically all the material, from whatever source derived, has been carefully revised in the light of his own personal observation. A most useful feature of the work lies in the fact that the pronunciation of each word is given in Roman letters in accordance with a clear and simple system of transliteration. The introduction contains a classification of the various dialects spoken by the Eastern Syrians, with brief notes as to their chief peculiarities and some general remarks upon their pronunciation. The typography of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

E. G. S.: H. DE LA VILLE DE MIRMONT's recent edition of *Cicero's First Philippic* (Paris, Klincksieck) is voluminous and industrious; it is the first, by the by, since Lemaire's general edition of 1830. Latin courses in France, we believe, are largely ordained by central authorities. There is a preponderance of verbal exegesis which seems to run largely towards etymologizing notes. To DE MIRMONT Cicero is the illustrious figure of Roman oratory and republican consistency; and his views are not deflected by the labored vituperation of Drumann, or by the Caesar worship of Mommsen. There are one or two references to Plutarch, while Appian and Dio, repositories in great measure of Asinius Pollio and of Livy, are left unmentioned. Nor do we see any acknowledgment of the obligations under which Merguet has placed all students of Cicero. Causeret's study of Cicero's technology and criticism of literature (1886) is accurate and painstaking, and while not adding anything to Ernesti and Volkmann, would seem to show that this aspect of the study of Cicero is not neglected in France. DE MIRMONT pays no attention to such technical analysis, which, however, is a postulate for closer approach to the art of Cicero, so eminently a conscious master of *τέχνη*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Sir.—I have to thank Mr. E. Fitch for his courteous and valuable criticism of my edition of the text of Apollonius Rhodius in the Amer. Journ. Phil. of July last (which I have only recently seen), and particularly for his recognition that my edition is independent of Merkel's. Mr. Fitch charges me with a want of scientific precision in the formation of my apparatus criticus because I have not in all cases noticed the readings of L and G, the principal MSS, also because I have used the sign "vulg.", the result being a certain inconsistency between the preface and the critical notes. I admit the facts and I admit the inconsistency. My defence must take the form of a plea of "confession and avoidance". In the preface I thought it right to set out the state of the text, showing the relations of the manuscripts, but at the same time (after deliberation) I came to the conclusion that the conditions imposed upon me did not allow of my stating all the different readings of L and G but only the more important differences, and this I maintain that I have done. Thus, to take one case referred to, the impossible *δερκομένη* of L in IV 170, I did not quote it because it was an impossible reading, and because it was of no value as a guide. Mr. Fitch says "the readings of a manuscript like L are worth knowing, even when they are palpably wrong, for they may contain a hint of the truth." If for the words *for they may contain* we substitute *if in that case they contain*, I would accept the statement as representing my practice. I may of course have made mistakes in detail and Mr. Fitch has pointed out some corrections that are needed, but I do not wish to seem unintentionally inconsistent.

With regard to "vulg." I admit that it is unscientific, but it is a convenient mark to express the agreement of most codd. and edd. where an exhaustive critical apparatus is not feasible. I dislike it, however, as much as Mr. Fitch does.

With regard to other matters, a slight inconsistency between a remark in the preface and a reading in the text is due to a final alteration in the text without the consequential alteration having been made in the preface—a slip for which of course I must bear the blame. I have often wondered whether any one would point it out. In IV 289, *διχῆ* should read *διχῆ*; somehow the mistake escaped correction in proof.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, LONDON.
May 28, 1902.

R. C. SEATON.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 812 Broadway, New York, for material furnished.

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